John L. Moyna

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST

It is now evident that in the *History of the Church of Christ,* Henri Daniel-Rops is producing a masterful survey of two thousand years of Church history which will endure for many years to come. The praise and reception already accorded to those volumes published is a testimony of its endurance, brilliance, and achievement.

THE CHURCH OF APOSTLES AND MARTYRS
". . . a massive, inspired and thoroughly engrossing book by the great French academician." *Jubilee*

THE CHURCH IN THE DARK AGES
"This brilliant and dramatic survey of the period from St. Augustine to Gregory VII is surely the most informative and interesting account of these little known centuries that has yet been written . . The book is a masterpiece of scholarship crammed with information . . ." *Best Sellers*

CATHEDRAL AND CRUSADE
"The narrative of the book is stimulating, spirited and brilliant. There are fascinating characterizations, keen analyses and logical interrelations of cause and effect." *Books on Trial*

THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION
"This popular synthesis is brilliantly clear, well ordered and proportioned, solidly based, and blessed with literary grace and a personal approach that makes perusal a pleasure as well as an education." *America*

THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION
"Daniel-Rops bases his work on excellent studies to produce a lively and still reliable account of the Church in its age of recovery and reform." *Critic*

The following volumes from Henri Daniel-Rops'
HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST
are in Image Books editions

THE CHURCH OF APOSTLES AND MARTYRS (2 vols.)
D 128A & D 128B

THE CHURCH IN THE DARK AGES (2 vols)
D 143A & D 143B

CATHEDRAL AND CRUSADE (2 vols)
D 154A & D 154B

THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION (2 vols)
D 159A & D 159B

THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION (2 vols)
D 179A & D 179B

THE CHURCH IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (2 vols)
D 191A & D 191B

Also available in Image Books by Daniel-Rops:

ISRAEL AND THE ANCIENT WORLD
D 169

JESUS AND HIS TIMES (2 vols)
D 67A & D 67B

THIS IS THE MASS
D 90

H. DANIEL-ROPS

THE CHURCH IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

TRANSLATED BY
J J. BUCKINGHAM

VOLUME II



IMAGE BOOKS
A DIVISION OF DOUBLEDAY & COMPANY, INC.
GARDEN CITY, NEW YORK

Image Books Edition
by special arrangement with E. P. Dutton & Co , Inc.
Image Books edition published February, 1965

NIHIL OBSTAT
Joannes M T Barton, S T D., L S S
Censor deputatus.
IMPRIMATUR
✠ Georgius L Craven, *Epus Sebastopolis Vic Cap.*
Westmonasterii, die 15ª *Martii,* 1963

The *Nihil obstat* and *Imprimatur* are a declaration that a book or pamphlet is considered to be free from doctrinal or moral error It is not implied that those who have granted the *Nihil obstat* and *Imprimatur* agree with the contents, opinions or statements expressed

H Daniel-Rops *L'Église des Temps Classiques Le Grand Siècle des Âmes,*
published in France by Librairie Arthème
Fayard, 1963

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

This is a translation of *Le Grand Siècle des Âmes*, the first part of *L'Église des Temps Classiques*, which latter forms the fifth volume of M. Daniel-Rops' *Histoire de l'Église du Christ.*

CONTENTS

VI. The Doctrinal Crises of Jansenism and Quietism

Contents

THE CHURCH IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER V

CHRISTIANS OF THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

1. CLASSICAL CHRISTIANITY

Classicism is traditionally linked with the reign of Louis XIV, or rather with his century. It has left its mark in many beautiful works of art and countless literary masterpieces. The plays of Corneille, Molière and Racine, the precepts of Boileau, the funeral orations of Bossuet, the sermons of Bourdaloue and, above all, Versailles itself, the very centre of beauty in its supreme severity—all spring to mind when we speak of the *classical age*. At the same time it evokes an attitude of mind which is reflected in an adherence to rigid rules, constant control of intellect over imagination and passion, a desire to attain an ideal of perfection and stability through order and discipline The concept was a moral, aesthetic and political one, and not confined to France, though that country led Western nations in their assimilation of its principles. The concept is embodied in the theory of absolute monarchy, the splendour of court etiquette personified in the great King Louis XIV.

As with all traditional concepts we cannot accept classicism without certain reservations. Though it is quite correct to regard the seventeenth century, especially the second half, as the classical age, it is true only in a superficial sense, however splendid that superstratum may be. The more we study the Great Century the more we appreciate that beneath the surface of magnificence a crisis was developing 'which touched the whole man in the whole range of his activities, economic, social, political, religious, scientific, artistic; in his entire being, to the very depths of his will and his emotions. . . . The State, the public, the upper classes and the individual strove ceaselessly to re-establish order and unity within themselves

and within their own spheres'.[1] From a political standpoint the monarchical structure that had been built up at the beginning of the century in the face of obstacles had stood wonderfully firm for fifty years, maintained by the genius of a great king, though towards the end of the reign it began to show real signs of decay. Thus the whole classical system is shown to be the result of a struggle to maintain an equilibrium painfully achieved and under a continual threat of destruction

From the point of view of religion the position was the same. What has been described as *Christian Classicism* was indeed a reality: it had its own definite characteristics Linked with the established order, it sustained absolutism and was its trustee, sharing with it the splendour of the régime. Sainte-Beuve aptly summed up the relationship when he said that 'the Throne and the Pulpit stood back to back'. Classical Christianity is displayed in the pomp and magnificence of its ceremonial on the occasion of princely weddings and funerals. It was strikingly represented by its lordly, but sterling, bishops with their imposing *entourages*, their large retinues of servants and their six-horse carriages It is recognizable in its masterpieces the splendid works of Bossuet, such as the *Politique tirée de l'Écriture sainte* and the *Discours sur l'histoire universelle*, the beautiful chapels of Val de Grâce and the splendour of the Invalides. That was an austere and stately form of Christianity. It aspired, though often unsuccessfully, to control morals. It was more submissive than spontaneous, and founded on fear rather than on love, but its faith was exact, solid and unshakable. One would no more have dreamed of questioning it than one would have questioned the authority of the king. Such was the faith of Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet.

These outward appearances are not exactly misleading, but do they reveal the whole truth? In the sense in which classical Catholicism reveals a kind of conformity with rules it is not truly representative of the profoundly religious life of a vast number of people. No pause occurred in the upsurge of

spiritual ardour noticeable at the beginning of the century. The followers of such men as Bérulle, St Vincent de Paul and Olier still toiled on, and the leaven of reform was still working. Although there were Christians who, broadly speaking, resigned themselves to the established order and a conception of the world which, after so many years of torment and chaos, they had come to appreciate, there were still a great many who remained quite untouched by 'classicism'. Just as there were bishops who refused to live a life of ostentation, so did many a simple soul lead an unfettered spiritual life under the gaze of God, even within the recognized framework of classical Catholicism.

The facts prove that in the religious field itself order, discipline and stability—splendid 'classical' qualities—were not achieved without continued effort, and sometimes only after a spectacular struggle. Within the Church the classical age was an age of violent crises brought about by Jansenism, Quietism and Gallicanism, and of an altogether more insidious crisis which tormented minds and consciences. Side by side with official orthodoxy profound spiritual aspirations asserted themselves, and it would be difficult to fit them into the framework of the system. The century of classicism was not merely an era of royal pomp and ceremonial in which the apparent function of the Church was to buttress and bestow its blessing upon absolutism It was also an era of contention in the name of sanctifying grace and pure love, and the very violence of the conflict demonstrated that despite hidden cracks the vital structure of spiritual liberty survived.

We may even wonder whether 'classical Christianity' did not conceal an inner contradiction which might have caused the system to fall to pieces Was not Christianity superimposed upon the classical ideal, to which it was diametrically opposed? Pierre Gaxotte was right when he said 'The seventeenth century was the human century *par excellence*, the century of man's glory.' Was not the pompous cult of royalty simply a man-made religion? God occupied a very unimportant position in the immensity of Versailles; even in the

chapel, if the king's eyes turned to the altar the courtiers turned their eyes to the king. The purpose behind all that magnificent literature—the works of Corneille, Racine, Molière, La Bruyère and La Rochefoucauld—was man, and man only. During the preceding period the 'devout humanists' and the masters of the French School surrendered man utterly to God, although they held him in high esteem. This is also true of the succeeding period so far as formal expression is concerned, but much less so in fact; and to a certain extent this attitude explains the definite slowing down of the spiritual upsurge and creative power of the period. It also explains the development of libertinism or disbelief which predominated in the eighteenth century. Classical Christianity was therefore destined to succumb to its own inconsistency.

But it did not yield without a struggle. Religion continued to remain firmly rooted in institutions and in men's souls. Disintegrating ideas cannot seriously and suddenly attack the admirable order that binds faith and the political and social sinews into an entity. Saints, doctors and great preachers would fight with all their strength to prevent the dissolution of legitimate hierarchies—the real causes of which no one, except perhaps Fénelon, really understood, although the signs were easily recognizable. Christians of the classical age have written the passionate and grandiose story of that struggle waged on the world's stage and in the depths of souls. Our impression of the Church during that half-century is something more than an exhibition of solemnity and stilted majesty, it offers us a picture of pathetic tenacity.

2. AN ERA OF FAITH

The outstanding fact of Western society in the Great Century was its sense of religion, deeply rooted in the life of the community, controlling and dominating its principles, decidedly a fortunate counterpart to the unwarrantable interference of officialdom in religious matters, an occurrence of

which the reign of Louis XIV was a remarkable example, though all the sovereigns of his day vied with each other in the same direction 'In the Catholic world the close union of and the mutual relationship between the two powers established by God, their intimate association in the common field of public life,' to use the words of Pius XII,[2] strove to keep alive the spirit of Christianity with which institutions were imbued. The least a viceroy of God can do is to defend God's rights among His people. That the Church was the trustee of the deposit of faith and the guarantor of stability and harmony in the life of the community was a fact recognized by everyone. Domat, the king's counsellor in the presidial Chamber of Clermont, in Auvergne, based his *Traité de droit public* (1697) on the axiom that 'Religion is the foundation on which social order is built'.

The efficacy of religion was everywhere manifest· in the family circle, within the framework of society, and especially in marriage, which is the basis of society. Henri Bremond was right when he observed that Christian marriage, which experienced a grave crisis at the time of the Renaissance and the Reformation, recovered its dignity during the seventeenth century when there developed 'a mysticism in marriage which was as far removed from animal coarseness as it was from the artificial modesty of the pseudo-spirituals'. St Francis de Sales's bold and emancipating passage on the sanctity of matrimony went a long way towards restoring its dignity. Bossuet wrote to Sister Cornuau, whose spiritual notions were rather muddled: 'I have often told you, my child, that the married state is holy. Those virgins who despise it are not wise virgins.' Le Maître de Sacy praised the goodness and the wisdom of God, who raised the physical union of man and woman to the dignity of a sacrament. Admittedly these are commonplace and time-worn notions today, but in the seventeenth century they had the force and freshness of a rediscovered truth.

The family therefore retained a definitely spiritual character because it was founded upon a sacrament. 'Any man who

fears God will be a good husband, a good father, a good son, a good brother, a good master, a good servant . . .' wrote Fortin in his *Conseils fidèles d'un père à ses enfants* There existed at that period a widespread custom of recording family events, great or small, in books popularly known as *livres de raison* The opening pages of the books usually contained a few basic principles of faith and some really beautiful prayers. The father of the family, as the responsible head of a small social cell, exercised an authority over the family comparable with that of a monarch over his realm, and, like the king's authority, it was essentially spiritual. With our modern ideas of equality we can scarcely imagine today the extent of the father's jurisdiction and the respect accorded to him. The scope of his testamentary rights was much wider than it is today, so that a father's authority endured even after death—a fact which, as Leibniz so profoundly observes, 'would be meaningless without belief in an immortal soul'.

The fact of religion also entered into a man's work, which is another aspect of social life As in the Middle Ages, the Christian calendar of feasts prescribed the days on which men refrained from work, and there were too many of them if we are to believe the cobbler in La Fontaine's fable Linked with the system of trade guilds, which were specifically economic in character and are still just as strong today, there were confraternities of arts and crafts. These associations afforded mutual assistance where necessary and were based on religious principles, though quite distinct from the pious confraternities, whose purposes were spiritual. The election of the executives of a guild was conducted in the presence of the priest in charge of the church to which it was affiliated, and the men elected promised 'to do their duty well' The rules of these trade guilds included penalties for those who infringed them the penalty almost always consisted of some act of devotion, the giving of alms or payment of a fine, and the proceeds went into a collecting-box to honour some patron saint.

The parish was yet another sphere in which religion united

men It experienced a definite recovery under the influence of the reforming ideas of the early part of the century. We remember how Monsieur Vincent changed Châtillon-des-Dombes from a centre of disorder, selfishness and corruption into a living parish. Until 1667 the parish priest alone was responsible for the maintenance of registers of births, marriages and deaths,[3] and he read government statutes from the pulpit. A spirited atmosphere therefore existed in parish life, and under a good priest it could be a really Christian atmosphere. The bell-tower was the voice of the village; its measured peals set the rhythm of daily life. The bell called the people to prayer, sounded the alarm and celebrated important events within the community. The registers of that period provide evidence of countless examples of devotion to parish work by Catholics of all classes.

There is therefore no doubt whatever that, just as in the Middle Ages, the religion of that period was conjoined with a living faith, directing customs and laying down rules to impose on everyone respect for the Commandments of God and of the Church. Because men lived within the framework of Christianity it was naturally very difficult for them not to lead Christian lives. Bossuet was thinking along the same lines when he wrote in his *Conférence avec Monsieur Claude*: 'I admit that individuals may be ignorant of some articles of faith . . . but they profess them in general when they declare their belief in the universal Church.'

And indeed belief in God was general. To people of the Great Century faith was natural. 'Free-thinkers' existed, but they were still rare, they could be found only in those small groups of intellectuals and men-about-town of whom Saint-Évremond (who was compelled to seek refuge in London in 1661) was a typical example. Their number grew towards the end of the reign of Louis XIV, and not only in France; none the less they were not very numerous. Father Mersenne estimated that about the year 1660 there were fifty thousand atheists in Paris, a figure we can no more accept as reliable than we can the lament of Mme de Maintenon that 'there

are no longer any Christians in the provinces', or the Princess Palatine's statement that 'the faith is extinct'. The wise Father Garasse said that he knew of only five atheists in Paris, three of whom were Italians.

It is important to understand that a Christian is one who lives within the structure of a Christian society, and not one who merely conforms. We have only to pick at random any personality of the classical epoch, and we find a soul deeply penetrated with Christian sentiments Neither is it necessary to select a champion of the Catholic cause, of whom there were many. A woman of the world such as Mme de Sévigné (who, as appears from her famous letters, enjoyed her fair share of lawful pleasures), read spiritual books and religious history, delighted in discussing problems of faith with her friends Nicole and Abadie, and recognized the hand of Providence in every occurrence. She thought, spoke, acted and reacted quite spontaneously and naturally as a Christian In this she was not alone. The scoffing La Fontaine prayed like a child; so did Colbert, Turenne and many others. Even many less respectable personalities showed signs of possessing a deep faith· Mme de Montespan weighed her bread during Lent to avoid breaking her fast The rugged Cardinal de Retz experienced moments of repentance, and acted like a true Christian when he made amends to all those whom he had treated badly

Moreover, this great but worldly minded century was also the century of outstanding conversions, including that of Retz Mme de Montespan dabbled in witchcraft before coming back to the Church, after which, as Saint-Simon tells us, she distributed her enormous wealth in alms, worked for the poor, wore nails in her belt, garters and bracelets, and, the mischievous memorialist adds, as a supreme act of penance she imposed silence upon her tongue! At Port-Royal there were at least a score of conversions, among whom Antoine Le Maistre, Hamon, Pascal and Racine. In such places as Mont-Valérien, near Paris, Mont-Voiron, in Faucigny, and the forest of Orleans, members of the nobility, the middle classes

and former worldly minded priests lived a completely eremitical life. It would be impossible to compile a list of all the converts, even French ones. Rancé, the Duchesse de Longueville, the noble house of the Contis, the shadowy figure of Mlle de la Vallière—all these are well-known personages. Eustache de Beaufort, Antoine de Chanteau, Gaston de Fieubet, chancellor to Queen Marie-Thérèse, Louis de Bailleul, a president of the High Court, the Chevalier de Reynel, one of Turenne's lieutenants, and many others besides left everything to spend their lives in a cloister. Though the breach between God and the world may sometimes be flagrant, it is very often mended in this way.

There are others to whom the word 'conversion' may hardly be appropriate, but whose death was utterly and magnificently Christian. We have already described the exemplary death of Louis XIV himself. The last hours of Michel Le Tellier, the great Condé, the Comte de Bussy, Montausier and many others were no less splendid. Two weeks before La Fontaine died he wrote to a friend: 'Dying is nothing, my friend, but do you realize that I must appear before God?' When Colbert was almost at his last gasp he received a letter from the king, and upon his wife asking him if he wished to reply to it he answered calmly: 'There is plenty of time for that; I am thinking of my answer to the King of Kings.' The vicar of the church of Saint-Eustache told Colbert that the parishioners were praying for his recovery. Colbert interrupted him: 'No, Father, not that. Let them beg of God to have mercy upon me.' A society which thus practised 'the art of dying' must be a profoundly Christian society. How wrong was Vauvenargues when he said 'Nothing can be more misleading than to judge a man's life by the way he dies.' The contrary is true. the Christian life is best judged at the moment of death.

Thus the facts contradict the gloomy assertions of Father Mersenne and the two great ladies of the 'Devout' circle. If we examine further we shall see evidence of the existence of faith. The frequent reception of the Sacraments, resumed

during the preceding period, became more or less general. After a very careful investigation G. Le Bras[4] concluded that the practice of frequent Communion was universal at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and he was inclined to think that it never had been more general than during the period between 1660 and the Revolution. There is evidence[5] that in the diocese of Séez, for instance, the number of those who received Holy Communion frequently was considerable And elsewhere nearly everybody made their Easter duties. In Spain many confessors counselled daily Communion Salazar had to protest against 'inordinate frequentation of the Sacraments'. In France the Jansenist Arnauld, whose treatise on *Frequent Communion* made such a stir, was not alone in demanding that no one should approach the Sacraments without serious preparation. The arguments raised by the subject indicate the intense interest it aroused [6] It is true that the excessive strictness of the followers of Port-Royal would eventually end in keeping scrupulous souls from Holy Communion; but abstention would certainly not result from indifference.

The enormous amount of spiritual literature produced was another sign of intense devotion. Evidence of this is to be found even today in the attics of country houses and on the shelves of second-hand bookshops along the Seine embankments. One out of every three or four of those little calf-bound books are books of piety published during the Great Century· Lenten sermons by Bourdaloue and Massillon, methods of mental prayer by Father Pomey, Father Nepveu and Father Nicolas, Letourneux's *Année Chrétienne* and his *Histoire de la vie de Jésus-Christ* (1673), Little Offices, *Élévations*—spiritual works of every description. And their success with the public was extraordinary. The *Exercice spirituel* which three anonymous authors dedicated to the wife of Chancellor Séguier in 1664 went into innumerable editions; a hundred thousand copies were printed of the *Heures catholiques* (1685), by Harlay de Champvallon—for the publication of which God will forgive him much. *Lives of the Saints*

on the model of those compiled by Bishop Vialart de Herse were to be found everywhere, and the *Bible* by Le Maître de Sacy was in every good library. How can we doubt the faith of a public which so nourished the soul?

Included among this spiritual literature was the Catechism, a compact and very useful manual of Christian instruction which became widely used. It began to spread throughout the Church immediately after the Council of Trent. At that time an attempt was made to adapt for use by the general public the larger Catechism compiled by the Fathers. Canisius launched his Catechism throughout all the German-speaking countries The great reformers attached enormous importance to the catechetical method of teaching in book form, intended for the general Catholic public rather than for the use of parish priests. One after another the bishops caused Catechisms to be produced for the adults and children of their dioceses, notably Rheims, Luçon, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Rodez, Vabres, Châlons and Agen. By way of experiment an interdiocesan Catechism was introduced for the three Sees of Luçon, La Rochelle and Angers, but unfortunately it had Jansenist tendencies Generally speaking these little books were a success, the questions put became more and more precise and the answers were short and arresting. The catechesis on feast days began to acquire liturgical significance. The best of these works was the one by Bossuet, which d'Astros used as a model when he composed his 'Imperial Catechism' in 1806.

Many earnest people strove to maintain the popularity of these pious works and to foster the faith which they taught. Pilgrimages were almost as successful then as they had been in the Middle Ages. Houses for Retreats continued to increase, they developed under the twofold influence of the Jesuits and the Recollects,[7] and continued under the Lazarist Fathers. Much of the initial success of Port-Royal was due to the retreatants who congregated there. We know for certain that the mission and retreat given at Vannes in 1695 was attended by 2,436 men and 2,519 women. Saintly people

desirous of assisting each other in the attainment of spiritual perfection, succouring the unfortunate, or uprooting vice, joined the 'Associations Apostoliques' (some of whose members had belonged to the Company of the Blessed Sacrament)[8] or the Congregations of Our Lady. These societies were directed by the Jesuits and the Lazarists Ordinary lay-folk gave proof of remarkable piety: in many a church in Paris and Rome men and women watched every night before the Blessed Sacrament which was always exposed for adoration. Many of them, too, wore some scapular, or even a hair shirt. During the day-time the faithful were to be seen spending long hours at prayer in the churches, bowing down five or six times in succession and then going to kiss devoutly the feet of the crucified Christ Faith was more demonstrative then than it is today. When a number of people came together they would begin to recite the litanies, despite the opposition of a section of the hierarchy who feared that these praises might be recited parrot-fashion. New litanies were always being composed, among them the Litany of the Holy Angels, the litanies of Providence so much admired by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and others taken from the Holy Scriptures.

The number of devotions multiplied. The traditional cult of the Blessed Sacrament never ceased to grow. In some ways it was comparable with royal ceremonial, the beautiful monstrance glittering with gold and precious stones was perfectly in keeping with the ostentation of official ceremonies in the 'salutations to the Blessed Sacrament', a practice which was spreading. The Benedictine nuns of the Blessed Sacrament, approved by the Pope in 1661, passed their lives in adoration before the Sacred Host with remarkable fervour There is even a record of a 'clock of the Blessed Sacrament' having been invented by a Carmelite friar; it automatically summoned the people to prayer at certain hours in order that they might atone for offences committed against the Sacrament of the Altar. The Oratory recommended devotion to the Child Jesus as perfectly representing that childlike spirit to which the Kingdom of Heaven has been promised. Devo-

tion to the Sacred Heart, the importance of which will be seen shortly, arose from several quarters. Devotion to Our Lady continued to grow. In 1683 Innocent XI instituted the feast of the Holy Name of Mary; and in 1716 the feast of Our Lady of the Rosary was extended to the whole Church. In Germany a few pious women in attendance upon the Empress Eleanora of Neuburg, third wife of the Emperor Leopold, began to dedicate to Mary the month of May, the loveliest of the year, and at Naples a number of ladies in the parish of Santa Chiara pressed the clergy to establish the practice. It soon spread to the whole Church. Some writers are of opinion that there is a danger of affectation in certain forms of Marian cult. Among these were Father Crasset, and especially Father Windenfeld, whose good intentions carried him so far that his writings were placed on the Index; but there is no doubt that devotion to Mary is a great help to piety, and assists countless souls to remain pure and humble. St Louis-Marie Grignion de Montfort was fully alive to the fact, and became the staunch champion of devotion to Mary.

Christians of the classical period could not doubt that the Blessed Virgin had a special interest in their era, for they knew that high in the Alpine valley of Laus, where numerous miracles occurred, the Mother of God had deigned to appear to a humble shepherdess, Benoîte Rencurel, and had repeated her visits over a period of fifty-four years, from 1664 to 1718.

3. DECLINE OF MYSTICISM AND GROWTH OF DEVOTION TO THE SACRED HEART

A profound and lively faith was apparent therefore throughout the seventeenth century. We cannot, however, help noticing the change that took place as the great century of spiritual revival merged into the century of Louis XIV. After what we have seen it would be an exaggeration to talk of spiritual decline or decay; but there were several definite signs of an approaching weakening in intensity.

The spiritual tide still flowed vigorously, but it was less

lively than hitherto. it ceased to race. The problem affected France more than any other country because she had remained the spiritual guide of the entire West until about 1660. Up to that time a number of mystics who were also extraordinary men of action had been hard at work, but in the succeeding period there were scarcely any. They had their followers, but these lacked creative qualities. The spiritual men of those years profited from the lessons of their predecessors. Bossuet and Fénelon were writers of genius, but they were not saints.

The personal rule of Louis XIV had begun in a very different atmosphere from that of his father, and by that time such great spiritual leaders of the preceding period[0] as Bérulle, Vincent de Paul and Olier were either dead or about to disappear from the scene That wonderful Ursuline nun Marie de l'Incarnation had gone to die in far-off Canada; Father Surin was fighting his last fight against the Devil in the haze of madness, for Maria d'Agreda the day of the great awakening was drawing near. Of all that glorious cohort John Eudes alone remained, having laid the theological foundations of the devotion to the Sacred Heart.

There was no lack of spiritual men, even mystics of some consequence, but they were disciples rather than masters. Along the path traced by Father Chardon came Father Piny, the apostle of pure love, and Father Massoulié, an ascetic rather than a mystic. After Louis Lallemand, whose *Doctrine spirituelle* was published by his followers in 1695, came Fathers Nouet and Crasset of the Society of Jesus, men of no mean spiritual qualities. It was Father Crasset who guided the humble and sensitive soul of Mme Helyot in the way of holiness. That saintly woman would buy the wares of flower-girls so that she might have the opportunity to speak to them of God, and her radiant holiness changed her commonplace husband into a mystic who wrote some extremely beautiful meditations. Later came Father de Caussade (1675–1751). His admirable *Instructions spirituelles* defended mysticism when it was most bitterly attacked, and upheld the principle

of 'Surrender to Divine Providence'. Among the Carmelites was René de Saint-Albert, who taught the prayer of simplicity; he had two serious competitors in Portugal—Joseph of the Holy Ghost and Anthony of the Holy Ghost, and in Spain another Joseph of the Holy Ghost, who was General of his Order. Father Philippe de la Trinité was a theorist rather than a mystic but all were inspired by the writings of St John of the Cross. Perhaps the most outstanding fact was the reappearance in Italy of a spiritual school, whereas scarcely anyone of note emerged during the preceding period other than St Joseph of Copertino. Among those who occupied a leading place in the band of spiritual writers were the stigmatic Franciscan nun St Veronica Giuliani of Turin, Blessed Sebastiano Valfre, Blessed Gregorio Barbarigo, who deserves to be called the Charles Borromeo of Padua, Cardinal Giovanni Bona, and above all St Leonard of Port Maurice, O.F.M., whose activities belong more especially to the following epoch.[10] In short, the only figures comparable with such leaders as Bérulle, St Vincent de Paul, J. J. Olier and St John Eudes, from the point of view of experience and influence on their age, are Louis-Marie Grignion de Montfort (1673–1716) and St Margaret Mary Alacoque (1647–90), a sister of the Visitation. The former did magnificent work as a missionary, was a mystic of a high order and had a great devotion to Our Lady. St Margaret Mary led a wonderful life of prayer in her convent at Paray-le-Monial, and gave the world the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

More disturbing than the decrease in the number of great spiritual men and women was a kind of backward pull on spiritual life, occasioned by a violent conflict between two hostile concepts.

From the earliest Christian ages various methods have been devised to help souls in their ascent to God. Some have insisted upon asceticism, on the necessity for man to learn in the agony of his soul to understand his own profound wretchedness, and to subdue his flesh and his mind. Others, relying on the truth that 'God is Love', believe that if love is suf-

ficiently strong in a man's heart it will eradicate his sinfulness and enable the soul to soar towards God. Genuinely spiritual-minded writers know that both ways are inseparable, the 'purgative way' precedes the 'mystic way', and no one can hope to reach the heights until he has conquered himself. This view was natural to such saints as Francis de Sales, Vincent de Paul, Teresa of Avila and John of the Cross. But from about 1660 antagonism between the two tendencies became more marked, possibly because Cartesian rationalism had accustomed men's minds to distrust the irrational or because the austere morals of the Jansenists emphasized the abyss between human and divine virtues. It was certainly due in part to the excesses of the Quietists, disciples of the mysticism of pure love—the allegedly 'quick way' to God.[11] An anti-mystic reaction was unleashed. Maria d'Agreda's *Mystic City of God* was condemned by the Holy Office in 1681, reinstated by Innocent XI, then condemned by the Sorbonne. The attacks became more violent against the 'easy methods of prayer' as advocated by Father Pomey, Father Nepveu and others, against the Viennese writer Avancini's *Life of Christ*, and other suspect authors. It required three lively treatises by the Augustinian Father Nicole, a prominent member of Port-Royal, to hammer those whom he described as visionaries. Bossuet and the Jesuit Bourdaloue joined the fight and in turn opposed the 'short way'. The true mystics were thus compromised by the Quietists and were engulfed in their defeat, with the result that their popularity waned and they eventually suffered a veritable eclipse that lasted until our own era. The fact that between 1687 and 1799 Rome condemned no less than eighty spiritual works demonstrates the extent of the hostility.

On the other hand the ascetic tradition ran the risk of deviating as a result of Jansenism. It was not perhaps the doctrine of the Bishop of Ypres that mattered in this domain so much as the interpretation that the Abbé of Saint-Cyran[12] characteristically drew from it Under the influence of the 'ascetics' Christian experience became austere, severe almost

to the point of being unnatural. The sense of sin, which, as we have seen,[13] was so profound at the beginning of the century, may very well be stimulated to the point of exaggeration. Jansenism coloured the faith of countless souls even in those circles in which it failed to score success. There is an undoubted grandeur in the stern demands of Christianity. Of course it was a splendid thing that so many souls in classical times should have been able to say in their distress, as did Mme de Sévigné: 'What is my position in relation to God? What have I to give Him? What can I hope for? Am I worthy of heaven, or have I deserved hell?' But was it right to deny the soul that great upsurge of love that might whisk it away from its uncleanness and cast it at the feet of God? This rigid tendency threatened to harden the Christian experience and render it inaccessible to even a modest awareness, and for that reason the so-called 'casuistical' Jesuits fought against it. It also runs the risk, as will be seen in the long dramatic struggle against Jansenism, of restraining the faithful from approaching the Sacraments, on the ground that they are unworthy: a dangerous incline that provides an excuse for all sorts of weaknesses. And what was left to prevent the spiritual life from collapsing when the tragedy of Jansenism had more or less discredited the ascetic approach?

We have a striking example of this profound crisis of the Christian soul in the manner in which devotion to the Sacred Heart, the most providential acquisition of the classical century, asserted itself; it was the greatest mystical fact of the era. The devotion has become so well established today that we are apt to overlook completely that for a long time it stood as a sign of contradiction within the Church. The origins of the cult go far back. St Augustine had already said that the heart of Jesus, pierced by the soldier's lance, shed its blood for the remission of men's sins. In the Middle Ages St Bernard, Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, Richard de Saint-Victor, and later St Mechtilde, St Gertrude, St Anthony of Padua, and later still Tauler and Suso, had spoken of the heart of Jesus as a refuge and a shelter offered to the poor

heart of man. The more ascetic saints—Lutgard, Angela Foligno, Catherine of Sienna—stressed the need to study the heart of Jesus in order to live better, rather than the personal relationship of the Christian to Christ, as one heart to another. During the sixteenth century devotion to the Sacred Heart flowed like a subterranean stream through almost the whole of Catholic thought. It came to view in the lives of Blessed Louis de Blois, St Ignatius of Loyola, St Peter Canisius, St Francis Borgia, the Venerable Louis of Granada, Teresa and many others. St Francis de Sales spoke of it to the Sisters of the Visitation in terms which suggested the devotion that would soon come to birth. Already the cult existed among the Carmelites in Liège, in the convent of Unterlinden in Colmar and in the Chartreuse at Cologne, where John Justus Lanspergius was its zealous advocate.

St John Eudes, who founded an Order,[14] established seminaries, and was a tireless missioner and reformer of the clergy, was also the great apostle of the Sacred Heart in the seventeenth century. As a result of long meditation, a deepening of his faith and the grace of interior light he came to see in the flesh of the Heart of God made man the symbol of the uncreated love of the Almighty for His creature. In the Divine Heart he discovered the great mysteries of Christianity, Creation, the Redemption. Through an understanding of the Heart he approached the Real Presence in the Holy Eucharist. It compelled men to desire to make reparation for the indignities and sufferings which sin has inflicted upon it. Filled with this grandiose idea, which indeed profoundly sums up the whole Christian theology, St John Eudes composed the beautiful Office of the Sacred Heart in 1670. Two years later he established the Feast of the Sacred Heart in the houses of his Society. Thirty years previously he had already instituted a feast of the Heart of Mary.

This devotion was theological in character; it could never have emerged from any organization of limited scope, or from any 'Third Order' of the Sacred Heart, had not Margaret Mary Alacoque, the humble nun of Paray-le-Monial, be

favoured with extraordinary graces. Christ appeared to her, spoke with her, commanded her—an 'abyss of unworthiness and ignorance'—to 'spread the flames of His burning charity'. The Heart of Christ, 'encircled by a Crown of Thorns and surmounted by a Cross', would be exposed for the veneration of Christians 'as the supreme effort of His love on behalf of the ransomed world'. These revelations were repeated three times between 1673 and 1675.

Devotion to the Sacred Heart was suddenly to assume extraordinary proportions Millions of Catholics would repeat throughout the centuries the tremendous words of Christ to Margaret Mary. 'Behold this Heart Which has so loved men.' But it did not happen immediately. The epoch proved to be stubbornly opposed to revelations of this kind. At first her superiors treated St Margaret Mary as though she were mad. Father de la Colombière was replaced; as Superior of the Jesuit house at Paray he had directed her soul, and declared his belief in the truth of the revelations. Father Croiset, a teacher at Lyons who took over the nun's instruction, was also transferred elsewhere, and such was the universal distrust of mystics and everything connected with the theory of 'pure love' that his book was placed on the Index. An attempt made in 1697 to induce Rome to recognize the feast of the Sacred Heart failed. Margaret Mary died in 1690; she had never ceased to repeat that God had charged her with a mission, and that the 'adorable Heart' would reign over the world. But she did not live to see the triumph of that devotion to which she had dedicated her life. She only just managed to see the devotion adopted in a few convents of the Visitation, and a few confraternities of the Sacred Heart approved and enriched with indulgences. Wherever rigorists were to be found they put obstacles in the way of this mystical devotion. We are surprised to find that even Bossuet, whose voice might have trumpeted the good news abroad, did not press this intensely theological and profoundly moving devotion upon his age. Such a lack of appreciation clearly points to the anguish of the Christian conscience. Yet the ascetic and the mystic meet

in two prayers which sum up the whole devotion to the Sacred Heart of Christ: 'O God, who joinest together in one will the hearts of Thy faithful, grant that nations may love Thy commandments'; and 'Jesus, meek and humble of Heart, make our hearts like unto Thine.'[15]

4. FAITH AND THE WORLD: THE THEATRE

Society may be undivided in its belief in Christianity, but the extent to which that belief reacts on morals remains an eternal problem; so prone is man's sinful nature never to live fully in accordance with the demands of faith and conscience that no era has yet been able to solve the problem. Racine's famous lines, inspired by St Paul and St Augustine, remain true in any century:

'Mon Dieu, quelle guerre cruelle,
Je trouve deux hommes en moi,
Je ne fais pas le bien que j'aime,
Et je fais le mal que je hais.'

('What a cruel war, my God, is waged between the two men within me; I do not the good that I love, but the evil that I hate.')

In considering that profoundly Christian society we must not be surprised to encounter some very dark background shadows in the picture. The progress made during the preceding period was undoubtedly maintained, and the savage cruelty of the upper classes no longer existed. Though the practice of duelling had not altogether disappeared it was at least less common; and moral behaviour had improved. But there still remained much to be done. The scandal consequent upon the conduct of Louis XIV and other European sovereigns did not tend to encourage virtue. Passions were violent and instincts wild. The criminal use of poisons was evidence enough.

Among the mass of the people ordinary faults were wide-

spread. If we are to accept the verdict of many bishops of the period we must believe that debauchery and drunkenness were common among Christian people. Every occasion provided an opportunity for merrymaking: Sundays, fairs, even pilgrimages and the feasts of patron saints. The events at Séez, described by Daquin, were exactly similar to those which Cardinal Le Camus mentions as having taken place in Grenoble, and to those at Autun which caused such pain to Roquette. In Bavaria a pastoral letter criticized the conduct of some who took part in a pilgrimage to the shrine of Our Lady at Altotting. In Italy the brawls and free fights which broke out at every opportunity caused great indignation. Superstition was rampant; there was no country in which people did not believe in witches and sorcerers. 'To get a true picture of the ridiculous superstitions prevailing and foolish practices of every description resulting from ignorance and simplicity', writes a contemporary, 'one has to know something of our country people and above all the peasants in our most outlying provinces' Superstition permeated the whole of Christendom, and many bishops had to take steps to check the stupid worship of relics and images. Bayle, author of the famous *Dictionnaire*, was obviously exaggerating when he wrote that 'the devil indeed put his shoulder to the wheel to turn religion, which is the finest thing in the world, into a mixture of foolishness, eccentricity, nonsense and appalling crimes'. But perhaps he was not altogether wrong.

Such dark shadows, however, were not the worst of the evils. They have always existed, and those who see irregularities in everything, as a few pious bishops were apt to do, might have had an almost professional tendency to exaggerate them. St Augustine says that the work of the Holy Ghost in the Church is accomplished slowly, almost unconsciously, but without interruption It must be allowed time in which to become effective. Here we must draw attention to a tendency characteristic of the age, but one which in a sense was more disturbing than the drunken squabbles and sexual indulgence of the peasants.

We might describe this tendency as a growing distinction—at least in certain circles—between religion and life. The real conflict, denounced by so many preachers from the pulpit, lay between 'the world' and faith. Such was indeed the essence of the struggle between Christianity, which strove to remain one in its teaching and universal in its scope, and those who in different ways aspired to limit its activities to a restricted field. It consisted in allowing preachers and spiritual directors to intervene in some spheres of life (even though their advice was rarely followed) and excluding a great part of man's life from ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

This was diametrically opposed to the teaching of St Francis de Sales, whose whole purpose was to combine Christian faith and life into a single entity, even in its lesser aspects and activities, and thus enable the soul to weave the thread of small virtues in the factory or the kitchen, in the court or in the shop. That conception of Christianity was now threatened: one might be a Christian without having to live entirely as a Christian. The people had before them the example of the Great King himself, a convinced believer whose behaviour was questionable from many points of view. There was a definite tendency even among the best people to confine religion to the seclusion of the inner man, a propensity fostered by the spiritual atmosphere of the early part of the century, and resulting in a kind of deep-seated cleavage. It is thus possible for a very lively faith to go hand in hand with an attitude of mind that is substantially non-Christian. Many chronicles of the period bear witness to the danger of formalism. 'All people know of religion is based on confraternities, indulgences and congregations,' wrote Cardinal Le Camus in a letter in which he condemned 'the love of pleasure and luxury among all classes'. There existed a type of casuistry which allowed men to think they could save their souls by making some sort of compromise with human frailty. At court excellent Christians, e g. Mme de Sévigné, were proud to be seen frequenting the *salon* of Ninon de Lenclos, who was notorious for his intrigues and his atheism. Among

the middle class, who were becoming increasingly important, there existed an economic and business morality that deviated more and more from the Christian moral code. The Jansenists failed completely in their attempt to secure the condemnation of loans against interest A type of social morality with which medieval Christianity was imbued began to part company with religion, and the time had not yet come when great popes would raise their voices against this state of affairs. Class selfishness was growing, it would become manifest in the eighteenth century, which was to fall a victim to the evil. Society was hardening, becoming more segmented and less inclined to charity. Massillon was right when he wrote: 'Without exactly losing our faith we allow it to weaken within us, and make no use of it.' Such was the advent of the modern world with its dechristianized *élites* and its great evils—'Money has appropriated the Kingship of God'.

We shall see that the cleavage between faith and life was perceptible in literature and art. To be a Cornelian hero it was not essential to be a Christian; with the exception of Polyeucte the characters of Corneille's plays, so jealous of honour, so prone to vengeance, possess none of the evangelical virtues Neither is Christianity to be found in the passion of Racine's heroes and heroines. The author of *Phèdre* resorted to some extremely skilful arguments to persuade his old masters of Port-Royal that his tragedy really illustrated their own moral theories! Too many classical writers convey the impression that they have raised a barrier between their faith and their art, so that the former may not intrude upon the latter. La Fontaine is an example: the 'moral' in most of his fables runs counter to the precepts of the Gospel. Among others, La Rochefoucauld and Mme de La Fayette tacitly advance the theory that reason is sufficient to make a lady; Christian morality is not rejected outright, but its repudiation is implied by omission.

Nothing emphasizes this separation more than the famous dispute that arose over the theatre and was debated so pas-

sionately, especially in France. The Fathers of the Church condemned the theatre during the era of the decadent Roman Empire, when the stage served to parade scurrility. By the Middle Ages the theatre had so successfully made its peace with the Church that it took its subjects from religious themes, and was able to stage its plays in the porches of cathedrals. But the 'mystery plays' gradually deteriorated. They declined from the comic to clownery; they parodied the creed and made fun of the hierarchy. Some restrictive action was necessary, and the Paris Parlement forbade them in 1548. Official censure embraced the whole theatre despite really serious attempts by several responsible people, including Richelieu, to narrow it down. In other Catholic countries, such as Spain, there was no censure whatever. The tradition of the Spanish mystery play was maintained by Calderòn de la Barca (1600–1681) with his *Auto di Nascimiento* and *Farsa del Sacramento*, rich in symbolism in which his dramatic genius was placed at the service of the Catholic faith. 'Devout comedies' combined sermons with biblical plots or with themes taken from the lives of the saints, and they met with enormous success.

In France, where the craze for the theatre was unbelievable, the position was extremely odd. The halls were packed, the actors were earning money, leading actors and actresses became celebrities, and tragedies and comedies were given at court. At the same time the official attitude of Christianity was such that all plays and players were absolutely condemned. The combined influence of the Company of the Blessed Sacrament and Port-Royal undoubtedly explains the rigid attitude adopted. In 1666 Nicole described 'poets of the theatre' as poisoners of the public, and likewise condemned writers of novels. A similar attitude was evinced by the Protestant synods. The production of Molière's plays *Tartuffe, École des Femmes* and *Don Juan* let loose a storm of protest. In 1693 the Theatine Father Caffaro published a letter in which he discussed the question whether plays should be allowed or absolutely forbidden. Bossuet replied

with his *Maximes et réflexions sur la comédie*, and the least one can say is that his language was not temperate. Bossuet regarded all plays as depraved. Molière was soundly trounced. The *Rituel parisien* excommunicated actors by name,[16] and, as we know, Molière's remains were refused the right of Christian burial. The parish priest of Saint-Barthélemy, referring to Molière, said publicly: 'He is a devil in man's clothing, and should be burned.' The King of France, however, discountenanced these outbursts, he was godfather to one of Molière's sons, and publicly encouraged plays. Meanwhile Rome, where comedy flourished, declined to join in this hostility. The result was that all the Italian comedians in Paris professed to be the Pope's subjects in order to escape excommunication!

This vigorous condemnation achieved no result after all; perhaps because it was too severe, in which case the responsibility for the rupture between religion and life lies with the authorities rather than with the Christian people. 'What a strange situation,' exclaimed La Bruyère, 'when a crowd of Christians of both sexes gather together in a hall to applaud a crowd of actors under sentence of excommunication!' Chalucet, Archbishop of Toulouse, acted more logically when in 1702 he excommunicated the audience. Fortunately the Nuncio, who enjoyed the theatre, was then resident in Paris.

5. THE VOICE OF THE PULPIT

Society did not, however, lack advice and warnings during the Great Century. In fact, one of the most striking features of the epoch is the important part played by preaching. If it were not impertinent one might say that the success of the pulpit competed with that of the stage. As great an audience listened to those who 'made man tremble under the judgments of God' as there were spectators who laughed at the pranks of Scapin and the cryptic profanity of Don Juan. The writers of great sermons were as famous as the comedians and the tenors; some of their names are legendary. The miracle

of their eloquence was discussed in the streets and in the news-sheets. At the end of a sermon by Massillon on the Last Judgment the whole congregation rose as though he, the supreme judge, were about to place the elect on his right and the damned on his left. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of pulpit oratory during the classical period. If it reflects the spiritual maladies which still remained to be cured it was without doubt one of the chief instruments, perhaps *the* chief, in the transformation of morals.

The phenomenon was general, for all the great Catholic countries had illustrious preachers at that time. In Italy the Jesuit Paolo Segneri (1624–94) joined the conflicts against Quietism and Probabilism. His limpid and tasteful eloquence nearly always avoided the comical buffoonery then fashionable. The Capuchin Giovanni Francesco d'Arezzo, who later became Cardinal Casini, lashed his audiences so vigorously that we are inclined to wonder whether his words can have been really effective. In Portugal Father Antonio Vieira (1608–97), another Jesuit, was for a long time a great missionary in Brazil; he returned to his own country, where he stirred vast crowds. In Spain Father Tirso Gonzalez, who became General of the Society of Jesus, and Don Jaime y Cordoba, nicknamed 'Father of the Poor', both reacted against the bombastic and pompous style of eloquence; while the Augustinian de Carayon went so far as to say during the funeral oration of a queen that 'the very moon has gone into mourning so that human beings may don their black'! The fashion in Germany contrasted with the French classical taste; sermons were sentimental, little concerned about logic and enriched with legend and symbolism. A very successful exponent of this *genre* was the Augustinian Ulrich Megerle (1642–1709), who in religion bore the name Abraham of Saint Clare; he was the official preacher at the court of Vienna, and his collected sermons on 'Judas, the Master Rogue' are still read today. More popular orators were Rauscher, Pursel and Knelling, who added a pleasant touch of humour to the sentimental.

But it was in France that pulpit oratory reached its zenith. Preachers had the advantage of an almost universal language that had reached an unprecedented state of perfection to which they themselves had contributed; and their audiences were growing more and more appreciative of lucidity and finesse in sacred eloquence, which had attained a level never before known. The king himself set a high value on the art, and encouraged it as much as possible by showing marks of favour to the most eloquent among the preachers. He recognized that they held a special place among the great men who contributed to the glory of his reign.

Pulpit oratory had been completely transformed in a short time The first half of the century was a period of development during which the burlesque type of sermon gradually disappeared. The famous 'Little Father André', who died in 1657, used to compare the four evangelists with the four kings in a pack of cards. On one occasion, seeing a few members of the congregation so near the altar that they touched it, he said the biblical prophecy that calves would be seen on the altar was about to be fulfilled!

St Vincent de Paul taught his Lazarist priests that true eloquence should be direct; that it should strike the heart and the mind and avoid 'monumental periods' and booming effects Fathers Lejeune and Senault, both Oratorians and later masters at Port-Royal, Saint-Cyran and Singlin, instilled into preachers a sense of gravity and dignity which had so often been disregarded in the past. The Jesuit Lingendes and Bishop Godeau followed precisely the same idea. It is surprising to find that Cardinal de Retz did likewise, his Lent and Advent sermons from 1640 to 1648 brought all Paris to the church of Notre Dame.

By about 1660 pulpit oratory in France was at the height of its success. though it was not entirely free from serious and obvious defects such as affectation, bad taste and a superficial gloss of erudition. Even the best preachers did not escape these faults. Bossuet, for example, referring to the fall of great empires, which he regarded as proof of the inter-

vention of Providence, mentioned those of 'Bacchus and H cules, renowned conquerors of the Indies and the East'. I compared the Blood of Christ with the blood that Catili forced his fellow conspirators to drink. On another occasio when recalling to mind the tortures suffered by St Gorgoniu he spoke of the 'foul effluvia emanating from the fat from h roasting body'. But apart from all such extravagances ther were great qualities in those sermons produced in such profu sion. The richness of their style and the soundness of thei doctrine were amazing. Great skill went into the composition the general arrangement, the setting out of facts, the realism of the imagery and, among the greatest preachers, the melodi ous arrangement of words. Bossuet was renowned for the harmony and rhythm of his periods, Bourdaloue for his impact and Fénelon for the music of his words. And what courage these men had! They denounced the folly of splen- dour, sensual pleasures, pride and hardness of heart; they handled invective and innuendo with a precision that would never be tolerated in our day, despite our professed broad- mindedness. Massillon preached against the thoughtless cruelty of men in high places, who imagined they were in the world entirely for their own benefit There is Bourdaloue's famous sermon on impurity, preached before the young Louis XIV, the lover of Mlle de la Vallière and Mme de Montespan. These two sermons were not far removed from the great biblical reproaches of the Jewish prophets to the guilty kings of Israel. When the nobles complained to Louis XIV of the acrimony of Mascaron, he replied· 'He did his duty; now we should do ours.' It is to the credit of the king, his court and society generally that they actually listened to those great voices reminding them from the pulpit of their duties towards God.

Not all the preachers of the classical age won a lasting reputation. Many who drew the crowds are quite forgotten today; some are mentioned, but not on account of their eloquence Soanen made a great impression at court before becoming Bishop of Sénez and subsequently involved in the

Jansenist affair. Another, the Abbé Charles Boileau (unrelated to 'the lawgiver of Parnassus') was so much appreciated by Louis XIV that the king had him elected to the Academy. But who now remembers the Capuchin Father Séraphin, whose improvised sermons, before Massillon's time, electrified the court? Or Father Nicolas of Dijon, another Capuchin, who had the rare gift of making apt quotations from the Scriptures and the Fathers of the Church? There was the Abbé Anselme, who was the fashionable orator at Versailles about the year 1686; Cassagnes and Cotin, whose eloquence took them to the French Academy; and Dom Cosme, who preached as many Lenten sermons at the court as Bossuet did, but whose name was none the less omitted from Cardinal Grente's exhaustive *Dictionnaire des Lettres.* Some there were who did not deserve such unaccountable indifference; the Oratorian Fromentières, for instance, who preached the funeral oration of Anne of Austria and the sermon on the occasion of the taking of the veil by Mlle de la Vallière; and Father de la Rue, a Jesuit who became an important figure at court from 1687, where he preached the Advent and Lenten sermons for four years running, and pronounced the panegyric upon Bossuet at Meaux. Father Gaillard, another Jesuit, was the last preacher whose sermons the king enjoyed in his old age. The number of preachers of the classical century is inexhaustible. When Father Houdry, himself a prolific preacher, produced a collection of the masterpieces of sacred oratory, the work ran to twenty-three volumes, and even then he had to omit three-quarters of the material.

Of these great men six emerge as having withstood the test of time with varying degrees of success. It is interesting to note, however, that although their contemporaries recognized the greatness of them all, they did not classify them in the order we follow. When the Abbé de Clérambault spoke in praise of Bossuet before the Academy, he said that Bossuet had 'allowed his rivals to attain the highest level of eloquence'. It was not until the advent of Nisard and the nineteenth-century critics that the Bishop of Meaux was given his right-

ful place in literature.[17] The keenest minds, among them La Bruyère, were struck by the 'power and magnetism' of Fénelon's oratory though he was not immediately successful in drawing the crowds.

Whom then did the classical century deem to be the principal representatives of pulpit oratory? One was Fléchier (1632–1710), whose funeral oration for Turenne we so much admire, together with his elegant and polished style and his 'noble church music', those little ornaments which he claimed would create 'a taste for virtue'. But he is so often solemn and pompous that we are inclined to endorse all the criticisms hurled at academic sermons. Another was Mascaron (1634–1703); the court doted upon him, and Mme de Sévigné praised him to the skies Though his oratory does not leave us untouched we find him uneven, and he is apt to mistake metaphors for ideas. Later, towards the end of the reign, we have Massillon (1663–1742). He it was who preached the funeral oration of Louis XIV, with its famous dramatic exordium, and who continued into the first half of the eighteenth century the great tradition of classical sermons. Voltaire and the Encyclopédistes would set him in the forefront of pulpit orators. Though Massillon's similes, hyperboles, paraphrases and antitheses appear to depend upon an extremely questionable form of rhetoric, he was certainly not lacking in psychological precision, in critical acumen, and even in lyricism and warmth.

6. THE SEVERITY OF BOURDALOUE

Bourdaloue was the typical preacher, 'the attorney-general of moral law', as Bishop Calvet remarked. It seemed that his sole vocation, the one purpose of his life, was to remind his contemporaries of the Commandments of God and the demands they make on man He never relaxed in his determination to point out to man the narrow way, clearly determined by reason and experience, that leads to heaven through the light of faith. For thirty-five years, tirelessly and unflinch-

ingly, he shouldered this responsibility; and indeed without regard for people's feelings. 'He strikes out unmercifully,' wrote Mme de Sévigné, 'uttering truths right and left. . . . It is every man for himself! But he goes straight ahead.' Indeed nothing could stop him. He denounced the court as 'the seat of pride, the centre of corruption, the school of godlessness', a treacherous sea 'where the noblest virtues are shipwrecked'. He spoke with accents worthy of Amos and Osee. When the poisoning scandal burst he did not hesitate to refer to it, pointing at Mme de Montespan, who was still the king's mistress. Those whom he assailed showed their disgust secretly, or at least discreetly. One day when he was ascending the pulpit at Saint-Sulpice, the great Condé sneered: 'Look out, gentlemen; there goes our enemy.' On another occasion, when Bourdaloue successfully launched one of his 'furious attacks against the conscience of his audience', and the congregation had evinced some measure of annoyance, Maréchal de Grammont exclaimed loudly: '*Morbleu!* He's right!'

To say that people ran to hear him speak would be an understatement; they literally fought to get in. They arrived long before the sermon was due to start, and the wealthy had their places kept for them by their lackeys. The atmosphere was rather like that of a theatre before the curtain rises, everybody chatting and calling across to one another. Suddenly the preacher arrived, elbowed his way through the crowd, ascended the steps and appeared high up in the pulpit. There he stood until there was perfect silence, motionless and with eyes closed, praying.[18] At length he opened his eyes and began to speak, softly at first, as if to clear the way. Then he gradually increased his speed, rising to that 'thundering and dreadful pitch' described by the journalist Robinet, reaching such a pitch of menace and holy violence that he frequently had to stop and sit for a moment to recover himself.

'I felt so powerfully attracted by the force and correctness of his arguments', wrote Mme de Sévigné, 'that he staggered

me. I could not regain my composure until he decided to pause.' It is impossible not to think of Bourdaloue when we try to imagine the great esteem in which preachers were held in classical times. He was born in 1632, at Bourges, where his father was a counsellor of the presidial court. Bourdaloue was above all else a Jesuit. Nothing else was of importance. As a student, novice and teacher he received the long and sturdy training that St Ignatius had planned for his sons. He represented the Society at its best, in such a way that his every word and gesture refuted the criticisms of Pascal's *Provinciales*. In him there was nothing secretive, nothing underhand, no element of guile; still less did he tend towards the lax or easy-going. He spent most of his time in the loneliness of a cell devoid of ornament except for a portrait of the king given him by Louis, which his superiors allowed him to retain. Beneath a shy exterior he concealed a profoundly intimate spiritual life, as far removed from the disturbing fantasies of the Quietists as it was from exaggerated Jansenist austerity. He did not confine himself to the preparation and delivering of sermons. 'His sublime eloquence', as Lamoignon said, 'sprang above all from his thorough knowledge of the world'. A confessor and spiritual director, he exercised a considerable influence apart from his preaching, because his life, as Mlle de la Vallière so wisely said, was 'penetrated with the truths he preached'. When he felt the approach of death he expressed a wish to retire into some secluded house of the Society; but on being told by his superiors that he was irreplaceable, he yielded and remained at court. He died, still active, in 1704.

Bourdaloue's art—if art it may be called—was based above all on logic, fact and absolutely methodical argument. Others might take wing and soar to such heights of eloquence that they lost contact with the earth; he based his pathos on pure reason. Bourdaloue usually divided his sermon into three or four parts, each being subdivided into sections. This arrangement tended to deprive it of dramatic swing and forceful impact, but it gave the discourse an admirable orderliness

that appealed to his contemporaries—despite Fénelon, who scoffed at the method. Moreover, Bourdaloue was a *moralist* rather than a theologian; too often he neglected to support his arguments with dogmatic facts, but he had a profound knowledge of souls. He was another La Rochefoucauld, lacking the bitterness of the author of the *Maximes*, but possessing his sense of truth. His ability to analyse the human heart, to lay bare its secrets and its frailties great and small, has rarely been equalled. So precise was he in his descriptions that shrewd minds thought they could name the sinners, male or female, whom his pictures conjured up. He might have been really great had he possessed the breadth of view and the abundant intellectual qualities of Bossuet, the sensitiveness and the unflagging curiosity of Fénelon, without mentioning their other gifts of genius. Bourdaloue was a preacher, the greatest of his time, but he was nothing more. Bossuet called him 'our master'. As far as technique went he was the master of French preaching, and for that reason has survived to the present day. But order and method can be learned; genius cannot.

7. BOSSUET

When we think of Bossuet, the great Bishop of Meaux, whose name stands for all that was Catholic in the classical age, we imagine him first as a preacher, a religious orator. His activities were indeed devoted to these necessary tasks: expounding Christian doctrine, exhorting his fellow men to a better way of life, exalting the truths of religion on great occasions in order to redeem through them the nation's soul.

So too he appears in the full-length statue of him that stands beneath the dome of the French Academy. Such was the pose in which his contemporaries often saw him—grave and reserved, looking straight ahead, his hand extended to emphasise his exordium or his reproach, so obviously engrossed in his sacred task that it would be difficult to imagine him in any role but that of the mouthpiece of God. When

we utter his name and remember what he left to posterity we cannot but think first of his oratorical writings. He delivered eleven funeral orations, of which the most famous were those of Henrietta of England and Condé, with their gripping exordia flowing majestically into the body of the subject, like folds of the funereal tapestry that adorned the church; remarkable too were such descriptive passages as the death of the queen and the battle of Rocroi. His innumerable sermons, almost all written up from short notes, still have the power to move us, even though they lack the glamour of his eloquence and the warmth of his presence. Among these were his sermons on the unity of the Church, the 'eminent dignity of the poor', and death.

With Bossuet pulpit oratory attained its zenith. Though solidly buttressed by dogma and by his voluminous reading, his words never lost that spontaneity and easy flow which are the hallmarks of great oratory. He developed his thoughts relentlessly and coherently, but without any of the deliberate rigidity that limited the powers of Bourdaloue. Bossuet thus succeeded in contriving a blend of opposite qualities: strength allied with flexibility, conciseness with richness of vocabulary, logic with persuasive warmth. His mood varied; in turn he could be solemn, realistic, lyrical, logical, poetic, didactic and occasionally familiar. His psychological analysis probed to the very depths of the being; his historical references gripped the attention by the force of their relevancy. What consummate art lay in the series of periods, the balanced development of his argument and that 'domelike sentence' of which Valéry speaks, rising by stages, each one awakening more deep-toned reverberations, then descending in flowing accents until it reaches the deliberately sought words that bring it to a close in perfect harmony—a powerfully abrupt closure or the whispering echo of a lingering lament.

Bossuet was all that, but he was much more besides. Belonging to those few 'who have most superbly made use of the power of speech', he could not confine himself within the limitations of oratory. He was also a writer who possessed the

qualities of sensitiveness, imagination, rhythm and precision; he was the greatest historian of his day, a moralist who rivalled La Rochefoucauld and La Bruyère, and a spiritual director comparable with St Francis de Sales. As a polemist he was the equal of Pascal, and so brilliant that his contemporaries admired him above all as a controversialist. In a way he was also a politician; but at the same time his *Lettres sur l'Amour de Dieu* and his *Méthode pour faire oraison de simplicité* show that he was a remarkable spiritual writer. More than anything else he was a doctor, a direct descendant of the Fathers of the Church, among whom he would certainly have been numbered had he lived in their time, for he was a capacious religious thinker, the most solid of his century. He achieved all these things with regal facility; his manifold flexible qualities enabled him to engage in every kind of activity at once, any single one of which would have been sufficient to absorb one mind and fill a lifetime. Behind everything he was and did lay an intensely rich experience of humanity, in consequence he was the guiding light of his era, its witness and its most typical representative. If his intellectual stature is to be measured by the extent of ground he covered, that is to say by the range of his interests rather than by the results he achieved, we may rightly describe Bossuet as a genius. One might hardly have expected genius to spring from a family of provincial magistrates whose ancestors had been vine-growers and cloth merchants; but such indeed were the Bossuets–honest, headstrong, of good reputation and above average intelligence. Jacques Bénigne, the seventh child, revealed great gifts from an early age. He was born on 27th September 1627; his godfather read his horoscope and discovered that a great career awaited him. The child soon confirmed that prophecy. At the Jesuit college in Dijon he proved a serious student, a stickler for Latin and of a piety which his teachers admired. He clearly deserved to bear the family motto 'Good Wood Bossuet' inscribed around a twisted vine-plant. He received the tonsure at nine years of age, though not on account of his piety; it qualified him to

receive the revenues of a canonry at Metz and involved no religious obligations. His resourceful father, who had settled in that city, managed to secure the dignity for him when he was fifteen years of age. His intellectual qualities were so evident that his parents sent him to the Collège de Navarre at Paris, the teachers' training college of the day, where he made a great impression and became the favourite pupil of Nicolas Cornet, who occupied the chair of theology. At twenty-five Jacques Bénigne became a doctor of the Sorbonne. On the day of his ordination, the same day upon which he presented his thesis, the great Condé himself was present, and he caused general astonishment by a sermon delivered extempore, as though for fun, during a social evening at the Hôtel de Rambouillet.

But his new state was no mere game; to him the priesthood was something more than a career. By the time he was fourteen he had read the Scriptures through, and declared he received from them 'a sense of joy and enlightenment'. Later, under the austere Cornet, he acquired a taste for theology, which he never lost. The turning point was reached at the age of twenty-one. He was making a retreat in preparation for the subdiaconate when he experienced a spiritual crisis very much like Pascal's 'night of fire'. He came to appreciate the instability of human affairs, and in a sublime piece of writing set down his anguish and his resolutions. That date was a milestone in his life, it showed clearly that the greatest conflict of his life was the one that took place within himself. His reading of the works of Bérulle, and above all his meeting with St Vincent de Paul, added the finishing touches. From that eager, ardent lad, as Bossuet described himself, Vincent formed a man of the Church, a man of God. Bossuet was acquainted with the atmosphere of Saint-Lazare, having taken part in the Tuesday Conferences[10] at which he later preached; he therefore understood the meaning of a lived religion and a true priestly vocation. His mind was made up. When the young doctor learned that his master Cornet was about to offer him the chair of theology he declined this

'open sesame' to an exceptionally brilliant career. As a zealous priest he assumed the responsibilities of his canonry at Metz, of which he already held the title and revenues.

That was the kind of man he would remain throughout his life. The cast of his character was clearly outlined in his youth, and though it matured it never really changed. The artists Mignard, Nanteuil, and later Largillière and Rigaud, have portrayed him at different ages; but the several paintings reveal very little change. They all show a healthy balance, self-control, a robust pride, a kindly disposition with a touch of condescension and a great deal of confidence in life and in himself. The thick lips and the broad nostrils suggest perhaps fulsome appetites, and that his apparent serenity was not acquired without a great struggle. But this Burgundian was a healthy fellow, a tireless worker; after a day of priestly duties he could spend half the night wrapped in a bearskin rug, writing letters, sermons and treatises. And he had a healthy mind: logical, precise, with an instinctive dislike of the vague, the doubtful and the morbid; more brilliant than intelligent, but not unduly precocious. He was sensitive, however, and capable of exquisite tact, to which his penitents bore witness; so fundamentally good that his occasional simplicity allowed him to be taken in by the wiles of the wicked—of whom his nephew was one. He was generous at all times except when carried away by the excitement of battle; then, as in his clash with Fénelon, he would lose his sense of proportion and even of charity. He had few other faults apart from his passion for a fight, an inordinate liking for court life, its pomp, its honours and the desire to wield power and influence.[20] Had he been more humble, more meek and more detached from the world, he might have been a saint. He was but a man, yet a man whose greatest merit was to desire to put into God's hands all he did, said and hoped. He was a man of faith.

Faith was the central fact of his character and of his life. He staked his all upon eternity. His faith was simple and direct, rejecting doubt and ambiguity whenever essentials

were at issue. Yet it was a lucid faith, sure of its foundations, aspiring to dominate every facet of life and possessing a natural horror of sin. Such a faith was absolutely and wholly Catholic; in other words it was not born of personal cogitation and the arguments of conscience, but of profound adherence to authority and tradition, and of the felicitous sensation of 'feeling with the Church'. Nothing could be further from Bossuet than the heretical mind. He described a heretic as 'one who has an opinion', and it would have been impossible for him to hold any opinion that was not within the framework of revealed truth and dogma. He has often been unjustly described as a Jansenist because he condemned those who 'make the gate of heaven too wide', just as he condemned those 'whose hardness makes piety dry and odious'; but he tended to be Augustinian and was certainly more inclined to a religion of fear than to a religion of tenderness. That did not, however, prevent those quasi-mystical elevations (apparent in his *Méditations sur l'Évangile* and his *Élévations sur les mystères*) that led him to 'consume his heart in the infinite depths of love' and enliven his devotion to Christ, Our Lady and the saints. In short, he was the most solid, the most well balanced of the Christian thinkers of his day.

Such a man seemed so clearly predestined to wage war on God's behalf that it appeared quite natural for him to have chosen the career he followed. He spent seven years at Metz as archdeacon of the Chapter, and was an enthusiastic propagandist among Protestants and Jews, but he continued to cultivate his mind in the privacy of recollection. Then he was called upon to preach in Paris, where six 'Stations' (four of them at court) and as many funeral orations enhanced his renown, and he soon became an outstanding success. In 1670 he was made Bishop of Condom, though he never resided there, and in the same year he staggered the court with his magnificent funeral oration on Henrietta of England. A few months later Louis XIV chose him from a list of a hundred candidates to be tutor to the Dauphin. It was a difficult task

which lasted twelve years, and he performed it with more zeal than pleasure, more credit than personal satisfaction. In 1681, as first chaplain to the Dauphin's wife, he was given the bishopric of Meaux, it was an unassuming see, but near Versailles. Henceforward until his death he devoted himself to his episcopal duties with the earnestness he applied to everything he undertook. He supervised the administration of his diocese, controlled the seminary, presided over meetings of the trustees, prepared a draft catechism and busied himself with the poor. Meanwhile he remained the great official orator, always at the service of the court on ceremonial occasions or when some responsible person was needed to solve a difficulty or settle a dispute. He was the guide, philosopher and friend of the Church of France and, in a way, of the Great King.

It is difficult to say whether Louis really liked him; but he certainly respected him. As Sainte-Beuve so aptly put it: 'They understood each other.' Bossuet's character and even the quality of his faith led him to identify himself naturally with the accepted order of things, which seemed to justify his own way of life; and he strove not merely to adhere to that concept of the world which pertained to the principle of monarchy by divine right, but even defended and consolidated it. His *Politique tirée de l'Écriture sainte* was written with this purpose in view; so was his *Discours sur l'histoire universelle*, in which, by showing God's work through human acts and events, he vindicated a system in which everything was stable, well ordered and based upon obedience and faith. He knew the dangers and limitations of the system, and when royal absolutism ran the risk of compromising through pride the established order of God, Bossuet intervened with the object of preventing a rift and fostering harmony between the two authorities whose responsibility it was under heaven to rule the world. He acted thus in the Gallican crisis.[21] It was through this attitude rather than through his language and style that he showed himself to be the classicist *par excellence*—if it is really true that classicism is the result of

a conflict with, or perhaps a victory over, the forces of destruction and disintegration.

Thus the life of Bossuet was a contest; especially after he had shaken off the shackles of his official duties as tutor to the Dauphin and felt free to do battle with anything that threatened the Catholic order, to which he was passionately devoted. He did not lack adversaries; indeed, they were innumerable and powerful. First there was 'the world', that looseness of morals which extended even to those circles where one would expect an example of virtue and loyalty. He knew the danger better than anyone, and against the world he 'followed his profession conscientiously,' as Lanson said, 'without brutishness or flattery, without complacency or insolence'. The world had its accomplices: casuists, probabilists, laxists and all those impudent theorists who imagined and taught that it was easy to lead a Christian life. There were also the free-thinkers, whose ideas absolutely horrified him. Their influence appeared to be spreading; Fontenelle had just been elected to the Academy. The absurd intellectual pride of incredulity, the irony of the sceptics, the animal-like indifference—all those factors seemed to him as 'seditious' as they were shameful. Again, there were heretics who strove to shatter that unity of the Church which he extolled in his writings. Finally there were the Protestants, whom he did not hate but regarded as brothers. For them he had written in his youth his *Exposition de la doctrine catholique*, a small but brilliant book which had stirred many consciences; it was against the Protestants too that he later wrote his *Histoire des variations des églises protestantes* in order to convince them of their errors.

Up to about 1690 it seemed to Bossuet that he had won all his battles, and that his enemies acknowledged defeat; the king had been won over, the errors of Probabilism had been condemned, and the Huguenots were clearly nonplussed by his *Histoire des variations*. Later, however, the beautiful harmony which seemed to reign as a result of his endeavours appeared to disintegrate. New perils rose up before him.

Suddenly he perceived a danger in the philosophy of Descartes, whom he had approved as a sound thinker and to whose philosophy he had introduced the Dauphin. Now he saw the conclusions which unscrupulous men might draw from it He exclaimed prophetically: 'I see a great combat preparing within the Church. More than one heresy will spring from the misunderstood principles of Cartesian philosophy.' He was also disturbed by Malebranche, the Oratorian metaphysician, whom he suspected of wishing to reduce ethics to a mere question of order, eliminating the supernatural and the spirit of penance, and glorifying a form of liberty which made nonsense of authority and tradition. He considered that, even if the aims of Malebranche himself were honest, his disciples were plunging headlong into heresy. And Richard Simon, another Oratorian even more suspect, ventured to apply the critical method to the Bible, thus 'substituting grammar for theology'. On one occasion Bossuet managed to persuade Chancellor Michel Le Tellier to forbid the publication of one of Simon's works, but the adversary repeated his offence and the attack had to be renewed.[22]

Continual strife and his uneasiness at seeing God's order gradually threatened made Bossuet obstinate, almost unfeeling, and his clear-sightedness began to diminish. He failed to perceive that once the vocabulary of Richard Simon's theories was explained, those theories could serve as weapons of Christian apologetic against atheistic criticism. When, under the influence of a book by Father Caffaro, he raged and fumed against the theatre, insulted Molière and included the plays of Corneille and Molière in his condemnation of the Byzantine spectacles, he was unable to recognize that his excessive severity was crippling his own constant endeavour to permeate life with the spirit of Christianity; he was almost forcing Christians to secede When he published his letter to the Pope on the subject of Chinese idolatries and superstitions, he was unaware that the attitude he adopted against 'Chinese rites' and the possibility of establishing a Chinese Church was diametrically opposed to the attitude of St Paul,

who, in order to convert the Gentiles, became 'a Greek among Greeks'.[23] Finally, when he lent the whole weight of his authority to crush not only Father Lacombe and Mme Guyon, but even Fénelon, his own disciple, friend and colleague,[24] and when he took up cudgels against the mystics and all the Maria d'Agredas of this world, he failed to see that in condemning mysticism outright he was depriving Christian experience of the precious stones in its crown, and reducing it to a kind of emaciated moralism and dogmatism. It was this lack of understanding, as well as his taste for austerity in religion, that caused him to be too lenient, if not too complacent, towards Jansenism, which was really more dangerous than Quietism. This was noticeable in the Quesnel affair.[25] Undoubtedly these were errors of judgment; they reveal the limitations of his genius and intellect, but they also suggest that his normal approach to problems was that of one who struggles to hold his ground rather than to extend his conquests, and that he was a prophet of the past rather than a creator of the future.[26]

He died eleven years before his king, on 11th April 1704, and thus did not witness the sudden decay that marked the end of the reign. He died, not like a saint, but like an upright man in an age when men knew how to die. Almost his last words were addressed to his secretary, who spoke to him of his glory: 'Enough of this talk. Let us ask pardon of God.' Yet he achieved a renown that has increased with time, for time has eliminated accidentals from his work and emphasized only the essentials. His glory is perhaps somewhat cold and pompous—'one of the religions of France', as Sainte-Beuve said; a glory that failed to recognize the humanity concealed beneath the solemn exterior, and in which much injustice is blended with admiration. The noble title given him by Fénelon[27]—the Eagle of Meaux—describes him perfectly in his steadfastness and courage, in the manner in which he soars to the heights, or in which he strikes down an adversary. In short, what we admire in Bossuet is not so much the outstanding figure of that great court, or even his mastery of the

French language, but the man who fought so hard to promote loyalty to Christian principles, the champion of Christ's cause.

8. THE ANGUISH OF FÉNELON

It might appear unnatural to rank Fénelon among the great preachers of the seventeenth century, as though we were approaching him through one of the lesser aspects of his rich personality. Although he did preach a great deal, at the *Nouvelles catholiques* at Saint-Cyr, during missions for the conversion of Protestants and especially in his own diocese, he could not be included among the leaders of religious oratory of his day. In fact, we have only six of his sermons, firstly because he was in the habit of improvising, and secondly because most of his notes were destroyed in a fire at his palace at Cambrai. His contemporaries, however, admired him as a pulpit orator. 'One feels the power and ascendancy of this rare mind,' wrote La Bruyère, 'whether he preaches spontaneously or whether his sermon has been well prepared.' Reading his *Dialogues* on the subject of eloquence generally and pulpit oratory in particular, we are able to appraise the soundness and relevance of his views upon this difficult medium. He makes great fun of those preachers 'who speak Latin in French', who are for ever dividing, subdividing and paragraphing (so much for Bourdaloue!), and those who, to avoid appearing second rate, try to be lofty (so much for Fléchier, and perhaps also for Bossuet!). He recommends simplicity, no shoddy brilliance or affectation which is afraid to appeal to the emotions; let the sermon even be passionate, but let it preserve grace, gentleness and harmony, seeking to convince rather than to terrify. His own sermons followed precisely these principles; the flow of the sentence and the persuasive force of the sentiments are in perfect accord, and a touch of lyricism gives life to the argument and softens down the erudition. Such a style of eloquence was rare in his

time; it was the forerunner of the form popular today, and it earned for Fénelon the famous title Swan of Cambrai.

Fénelon's dominant position among the preachers of the Great Century was not, however, entirely due to his brilliant gifts. If it is true that the role of those who speak in God's name is to convey His judgment to men and to remind them of their baptismal vows, Fénelon above all others stands out as the living conscience of his era. Bourdaloue, Mascaron, Massillon, and Bossuet in a lesser degree, courageously denounced social evils and the positive failure of society to follow the precepts and spirit of the Gospel; but no one asked himself the question whether from the point of view of Christ's teaching the system of classical Christianity did not contain deficiencies and errors. Fénelon alone, at least among the higher clergy, dared to pass a Christian judgment upon the established order; and though he did not condemn it outright, he proposed measures which might have made it more Christian. He was affected by the profound crisis of his epoch, probably to a greater extent than Bossuet, because he was more prone to anguish of the spirit; he appreciated the necessity to overcome the disintegrating forces which threatened the structure of Christianity. But instead of fighting simply to defend and resist he struggled to build anew and to create. He looked as passionately to the future as his rival did to the past, and he asked himself what he should do to keep faith alive in a new kind of world. To achieve his purpose he looked to a young, daring and conquering form of Christianity such as he had acclaimed in that splendidly impetuous sermon on the Calling of the Gentiles—the religion of the Revolution of the Cross, which addresses itself to the heart.

There is something fascinating about Fénelon as a man. In Bossuet we admire his genius, his power, the unrivalled balance in his life and thought. Fénelon is nearer to ourselves. He is more prone to human frailty, is more apprehensive, more anxious and more delicate. At twenty-one years of age the young Bossuet solved his spiritual crisis by binding him-

self so completely to the demands of Christianity that he never again appeared to experience any painful spiritual conflict. Fénelon, on the other hand, spent his whole life searching for interior peace. He suffered in consequence of his contradictions. Psychologically he lacked balance: he vacillated between self-assurance and disgust of self, optimism and despair. This lordly archiepiscopal duke, owning a wealthy and beautiful diocese, was none the less unhappy within himself. If he appeared agreeable, kindly and charitable in the eyes of men, he knew that before God he was full of pride, hardness and selfishness, 'an abyss of subtle defects', and this knowledge overwhelmed him. He admitted moreover that he did not understand himself: 'I cannot explain my inner self. It escapes me, and appears to be for ever changing. I have no idea what I am.' It was a tragedy, and shows how vain and inadequate were the epithets 'tender, charming, refined, changeable, romantic' with which too many contemporaries have labelled him. It is sufficient, in any case, to study his portraits, especially those that show the pained and reticent expression of his old age, to appreciate that he was something more than the charmer who, as Saint-Simon said, 'was as careful to win over servants as he was their masters', a handsome man of such noble bearing 'that one had to make an effort to avoid looking at him'. He possessed gifts quite different from the 'finesse, grace, decorum and above all nobility' with which the curt memorialist credited him. His sensitiveness caused him suffering, his ardour provoked anguish of mind and his generosity made him imprudent. He was one of those rare and lofty souls who remain untouched by the temptation to act shabbily or to do anything for personal gain.

With these fascinating qualities went true genius, a profound and brilliant intellect that immediately and instinctively transformed everything it touched. Even in matters that did not necessarily concern an archbishop or even a preacher the attitude he adopted was always the right one, and yet original. For example, the ideas contained in his

well-known treatise on the education of girls were so obviously sensible that we might be tempted to regard them as truisms were we to overlook the fact that they now form the basis of our modern teaching practice. He dealt similarly with the French language in his celebrated *Lettre à l'Académie*; he was far ahead of his time when he claimed that historical works should be critical, impartially written and supported by evidence. Unlike Bossuet, who condemned the theatre, he did not altogether disapprove of it; he discriminated between the good and the bad, and the future confirmed the justice of his attitude.

He excelled in almost every field. As a moralist he equalled Bourdaloue; in vision and the niceties of analysis he excelled Bossuet. As evidence of this we have his letters on indolence, on pride and the vanities of the world—all masterpieces of style, fluency and precision. He was an artist and a poet with a lively imagination, but above all he was impressed by the world's beauty—a rare quality in his day, especially among preachers—and very conscious of man's place within that world of beauty. He was much more of a philosopher and metaphysician than Bossuet: in his *Traité de l'existence de Dieu* he set forth brilliantly the traditional arguments and, as a good dialectician, criticized Malebranche forcefully though a little unjustly. A parish priest at Saint-Sulpice accused him of 'lacking theology', and others have repeated the charge; and the fact that his *Maximes des Saints* was condemned (in rather strange circumstances)[28] has caused some writers to pass a hasty judgment They overlook the twenty or so works produced prior to the Quietist crisis, and which were never suspect. Those writings 'constitute a mass of mystic theology without precedent',[29] and his *Dialogues sur le système de Jansenius* is perhaps the most lucid account ever produced of Jansenist doctrine, and contains its most convincing refutation. These works of Fénelon may not cover such a vast field as those of Bossuet, but in many respects they equal Bossuet's in quality. Fénelon lacked the capacity to give his thought that rigid, unbroken front which his rival

achieved naturally; neither did he succeed in attaining internal unity and intellectual synthesis.

Under such conditions and with his temperament, his deficiencies and his reverses, how could his life be anything but exceptional, beautiful and sad, brilliant and, in a way, a failure? Cardinal Grente, one of his most impartial admirers, has pictured Fénelon 'attaining high honours at a single bound, where he shone and exerted an influence . . . then, at the summit of his hopes, his hand outstretched to seize the object of his ambitions, embarking upon a venture . . . encountering the Church's condemnation and the king's disfavour . . . meeting with disappointment . . . and finding consolation in magnificent self-sacrifice'. The human destiny of François de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon was such that he rocketed to great heights, at great speed, and then crashed cruelly back to earth; but what complexity, what emotional and intellectual adventures, and what interior violence within the space of that unusual life!

Fénelon was born on 6th August 1651 at the Château de Fénelon. The earnest zeal with which the thirteen-year-old lad from Périgord attacked his classical studies at the college in Cahors, the zeal that developed and moulded the young seminarist at Saint-Sulpice under the direction of the ascetic M. Tronson, also bound the adult to the duties of chaplain to the *Nouvelles catholiques*, to the Protestant converts and potential converts and to the missions undertaken at the king's command in Aunis and Saintonge after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He never did anything by halves. Appointed tutor to the Dauphin's three sons he did not confine himself, as Bossuet had done in the case of their father, merely to giving them a correct education; he strove to make them (and especially the eldest, the difficult Duc de Bourgogne) princes after the heart of God. Better still, he dreamed of making France, through the eldest, who would one day be king, a realm worthy of St Louis. It was the same urge that influenced his relations—imprudent though they were—with the Quietists, and he thought he recognized in

the dubious Mme Guyon the messenger of the truth for which his soul thirsted. With the grace of a great nobleman he still remained absolutely loyal to her in her sorrow, even after his eyes had been opened. Then came the test. When he saw that the king was determined to destroy him[30] he most certainly knew that it was not solely on account of his religious theories; perhaps the great despot could not endure that Fénelon should see him with the eyes of a priest, and resented the archbishop's attempt to educate the heir to the throne in principles that refuted the errors of the régime. But Fénelon did nothing to soften the king's anger, he did not descend to flattery and grovelling. His heart was torn, but he reacted vigorously. Exiled to his diocese, he devoted himself with the same enthusiasm to his episcopal duties, dedicating himself to the best of his ability to the tasks God had entrusted to him. He proved himself capable of sublime charity in dealing with the miseries resulting from the War of the Spanish Succession, though something in his complex and inconsistent nature continued to draw him towards Versailles, to which he hoped to be recalled and restored. When the death of his pupil the Duc de Bourgogne destroyed his last illusions he buried himself in solitude, endless work and sadness. At the approach of death he at once abandoned grief and anguish, and his soul rose up sublime to face God's Providence. In his agony, on 7th January 1715, he murmured: 'I love Him more than I fear Him.'

Faith was the one stable factor, the very pivot of this eventful destiny and complex personality. Fénelon's faith was admirable; he was just as typical as Bossuet of the religion of an age when God was not 'dead'. His whole being teemed with faith: 'His very arguments were instinct with the spirit of adoration.' Faguet remarks that nothing could be more absurd than to see in Fénelon 'a sensitive and humanitarian philosopher, an apostle of tolerance, a friend of the people and a fore-runner of intellectual emancipation'. The proof of his faith can be seen in the austerity of his episcopal life, his unquenchable charity, the continual refer-

ence to the will of God which marks his thought and his uninterrupted devotion to God's cause. He certainly did not fight for that cause in the manner of Bossuet, but their goals were identical. His faith had not the monolithic character of his rival's, though it was not assailed by doubt it experienced the effects of his complex temperament. We must not imagine that these two men did not agree on the essential loyalty to tradition and submission to the Church, merely because they opposed each other on one point. They both professed adherence to fundamentals and to the exacting demands of Christian morality. 'Acts of magnanimity and all natural tenderness are simply a more refined, more alluring, more flattering, more pleasant, more diabolical form of self-interest. We must die unreservedly to all friendship.' Those were not Bossuet's words; neither were they written by Saint-Cyran or the great Arnauld. Fénelon addressed them to Mme de Maintenon, who was then his penitent. In so far as Quietism might be deemed synonymous with a sort of easy-going attitude, Fénelon was certainly no Quietist, despite serious errors in his use of words and a certain rashness of approach. But he saw his religion—whose demands he accepted—in the light of his own personal temperament; that is to say, with passion, gentleness and tenderness, with that utter confidence in God so well expressed in his last words. He was a true mystic; his was a soul for whom Christianity was not discipline, order and a system of precepts and institutions, but primarily adhesion, love, the offering of one's whole being to supreme love, an abandonment to the promises of the Redeemer, even to the harrowing consciousness of our own spiritual destitution. When so many saints and outstanding figures throughout the whole history of the Church have experienced this spiritual approach no one can reject the message of that great seventeenth-century trustee of the doctrine of 'Pure Love'.

Ultimately that is what gives Fénelon's genius its originality. Because this semi-invalid and zealot was able in his best moments to see everything from God's point of view, he dis-

covered things which he was almost the only one to perceive. He towers over his era like a wild swan in flight. To so many problems that soon brought anguish to men's souls he put forward Christian solutions destined to prevent catastrophe. Fénelon the 'politician', a picture that delighted the eighteenth century, cannot be understood without Fénelon the mystic When he wrote his *Télémaque*, a poetic tale in which he subtly sat in judgment on the world of his day; when he addressed his famous letter to the Duc de Chevreuse,[31] when, even more rashly, he composed the *Tables de Chaulnes*, he was denouncing the evils of the régime itself, the very evils that right-minded Christians condemned and which would eventually compass his own destruction. Louis XIV might well treat him as a 'visionary wit'; history has not proved Louis right. Fénelon was ahead of his time, a fact which after all explains his failure. His lucid genius enabled him not only to see the monstrosity of violence, the social injustice of his age, and the folly in the pomp of the Great Reign's ostentation, but also to discern what was unacceptable to a Christian in unlimited absolutism. From certain points of view he may have erred; to some extent he may have laid himself open to criticism by those who recognized in him a harbinger of the intellectual crisis which would shatter the traditional order of things.[32] None the less his is the most moving voice of that age.

9. THE REFORM IN JEOPARDY: RANCÉ

It is sufficient to mention such names as Bossuet, Fénelon, Bourdaloue and Massillon to show that the great tide that had its source in the Council of Trent a hundred years earlier was of a lasting nature despite the preponderant factor of classicism In whatever field the Tridentine spirit had asserted itself that trend was to be found, less ebullient perhaps since it had undergone change, but more efficacious. The Church of France continued to furnish examples of the

reforming and missionary spirit, but it was also still present in Italy, Spain, Poland and Austria.

Following the Council of Trent the most eminent agents of reform were the bishops, such as St Charles Borromeo, his disciples and imitators. They were more numerous immediately before and after 1600, giving example of the highest virtues, with St Francis de Sales at their head.[33] The 'Borromeans' too were still active: in Italy there was Blessed Gregorio Barbarigo whom we have mentioned as one of the great spiritual leaders of his time. From 1664 to 1697 he laboured in Padua and Bergamo. He was a remarkable bishop, anxious about the training of priests, continually visiting his flock, preaching, holding conferences and writing a great deal. In France several of the best bishops of the Great Century were still hard at work at the beginning of the personal rule of Louis XIV; e.g. Étienne de Vilazel at Saint-Brieuc, Pavillon at Alet and Vialart de Herse at Châlons-sur-Marne. The example given by Blessed Alain de Solminihac was continued by other splendid figures. Among them was Louis de Lascaris d'Urfé, Bishop of Limoges from 1676 to 1695, who wore himself out in pastoral visits, hearing confessions, presiding over synods and Church conferences, in short, he was a veritable hero of penance and charity. There was the austere Cardinal Le Camus, Bishop of Grenoble from 1671 to 1707, who turned what has been called 'France's sink of iniquity' into a well-ordered and healthy diocese. Le Camus has been referred to as the 'Rancé of the episcopate'.

Lascaris and Le Camus were nominated by Louis XIV, a fact which shows that the episcopate was not altogether bad during his reign. We have seen[34] that the king was careful in making such appointments. Not that all of them were as perfect; politics, blood ties, court influences and other less honourable reasons too often led to the appointment of bishops who should never have been in charge of a diocese. Courtier-bishops, who were more concerned with the intrigues of Versailles and the 'Journal of Benefices'[35] than with the needs of their dioceses, were still plentiful. Worse still, some

of the bishops were also members of the nobility. They added the revenues of various abbeys to those of their diocese and kept a stately retinue; some had about thirty servants in livery, and they built those beautiful episcopal palaces that have survived to the present day. They were not necessarily bad men. François de Canisy, and Antoine de Charpin de Genétines who succeeded Louis de Lascaris d'Urfé in Limoges, were typical of the bishops who were members of the nobility but were also good administrators and even reformers Naturally there were politicians among them of doubtful morals, such as Harlay de Champvallon, and some absurdly conceited, e.g. Clermont-Tonnerre and others. Some of them were excellent Bossuet of Meaux, Fénelon of Cambrai, Massillon who was so popular in Clermont, Fléchier of Lavaur and subsequently of Nîmes, Mascaron of Tulle and later of Agen; all these were beyond criticism. We even have examples of outstanding episcopal virtues: Claude Joly, Bishop of Agen, Louis d'Estaing, Bishop of Clermont-Ferrand, Gabriel de Roquette, Bishop of Autun. At Besançon Antoine-Pierre de Grammont worked valiantly for the restoration of a tumbledown diocese, Jean d'Aranthon d'Alex did better still in Annecy Tournai, which was then French territory, had the stern Choiseul, while Gap from 1706 onwards had Berger de Malissoles, the 'Saint of the Alps', who visited every parish once a year and five times refused to leave his impoverished diocese for a more wealthy one. We cannot overstress the important part played by those sterling bishops, who were wisely allowed to remain a long time in the same Sees and thus maintained the solid structure of the Church. This was true not only of France but of all the great Catholic countries A body of excellent bishops laboured in Spain; among them Severo Tomas in Gerona, Pascal d'Aragon in Toledo, Estrado de Marroqui in Palencia, and Jaime Cordone, who introduced the devotion to the Sacred Heart into his diocese and whom his flock called 'Father of the Poor'.

Slowly the clergy improved, thanks to the perseverance of many bishops. But corrupt practices still existed, and we have

on the Tridentine or French model gained ground. When Bishop de Choiseul was entrusted with the diocese of Tournai, after the territory became French, his first care was to found a seminary. Cardinal de Furstenberg did likewise in Strasburg when France took over the province. Cardinal Le Camus made it one of his first duties to find sound directors for his seminary; and Bishop de Roquette eagerly set about building one. Many were the bishops who called on the Lazarists and especially the Sulpicians to assist in the training of their young students for the priesthood.[36] Numerous seminaries began to operate in Italy—at San Miniato near Florence, in Andria, Pistoia, Lareno, San Severo, Catania and Naples. Cavalieri, Vicar-General to Cardinal Orsini and a zealous Dominican, introduced the French type of seminary into Spoleto, Cesena and Benevento, where future clerics remained longer and did not mix with lay students. In German territory seminaries were opened at Wurtzburg and Ratisbon; the same was done at Brixen, Breslau, Vienna, Olmutz, Prague, and in Switzerland at Freiburg. Original foundations should also be mentioned, for even where official seminaries existed private ones were also established. Among these was the Trente-Mois, which owed its existence to the generosity of the holy priest Claude Bernard. Others were the Presbytery Schools of Pierre Crestoy (1622–1703), parish priest (from 1678) of Barenton in Normandy. They were real country seminaries. The most remarkable of such institutions was that of Claude Poullard des Places (1679–1709), whose aim was to attract to the priesthood young men from the poorest classes. His Séminaire du Saint-Esprit (1702) provided the Church of France with a body of vicars for the poorer districts; they were called 'Bouics' from the name of his first successor. These seminaries also provided men of devotion and courage for the most difficult missionary work in pagan lands.[37]

The facts were there to demonstrate the eventual results of these patient efforts, especially in the opposition put up by the general mass of the clergy during the eighteenth cen-

tury to the forces of unbelief, and the courage shown by the French clergy during the Revolution. Moreover, notable figures stand out from the vast number of good and saintly priests whose names are forgotten. Before Claude Joly became Bishop and Count of Agen he was an excellent parish priest at Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs in Paris; and courageous too, for he dared to tell the Duchesse de Noailles to supervise the conduct of the ladies of honour at court when they came under the eye of young Louis XIV. At Saint-Sulpice, Baudrand de Lacombe, M. Olier's biographer, and La Chétardye, who refused the bishopric of Poitiers in order to remain a parish priest, were other fine examples. Every great Catholic country had its own exemplary priests. Regarding them as a whole we might be justified in taking an optimistic view, but they were badly paid and often despised by the higher clergy, with the result that there developed a social consciousness and a tendency towards dogmatism and insistence on their demands. When therefore the Jansenist crisis occurred the movement assumed considerable importance—a veritable 'Catholic Presbyterianism' which drew its arguments from Richer. The movement found a champion in the facetious Abbé Jacques Boileau (who said he wrote in Latin so that the bishops might not understand!) By 1700 it was powerful enough to send to the astonished Bishop of Chartres a well-considered document inviting him to recognize in priests the same spiritual powers possessed by the bishops—a sign of grave and dramatic antagonism ahead.

The position was also favourable in the religious Orders and congregations, but much depended upon circumstances. Generally speaking institutions dating back to the sixteenth century or the early part of the seventeenth remained efficient forces in the service of the Tridentine ideal. The Jesuits were still a powerful influence; they were made the subject of official inquiries, calumniated and even persecuted in some areas; in others they were praised to the skies, and continued all powerful. They constituted the *élite* of the priesthood in every Catholic state, acting as confessors to princes and spir-

itual directors to countless souls. In 1701 they became publicists and journalists by founding the famous *Mémoires de Trévoux*. All the Generals one after another were excellent men the German Nickel, the Genoese Oliva, the Spaniard Tirso Gonzalez and the Milanese Tamburini. Despite a little friction resulting from Probabilism, the Society of Jesus, eighteen thousand strong, remained a bulwark of the Church —as Voltaire would find out The Capuchins were not so far up in the scale, and were therefore less open to suspicion. Their growth was extraordinary. by about 1700 they numbered thirty thousand members, had eighteen hundred houses, and were to be seen everywhere It was they who maintained the great Franciscan tradition at its liveliest.

Recent institutions were less numerous, but they retained the bloom of youth. Bérulle and his Oratory were much talked about, mainly on account of Mascaron, Massillon and Malebranche, and the Jansenist affair in which the Oratory was somewhat compromised, all of which proves that it exercised a considerable spiritual influence. The progress of the Lazarists continued 'Bestowed upon all, dear to all', runs an inscription on the tomb of one of them in Warsaw. The wise Matthieu Beuvelet, who strove to improve the organization of M. Bourdoise's congregation, was superior at Saint-Nicolas-du-Chardonnet. As for Saint-Sulpice, its renown as a source of seminary teachers was assured Numerous dioceses asked for Sulpicians, in Canada they were the 'Lords of Montreal', and they gave the country that sound body of priests which it has had ever since The glory of the Congregation at that time was Louis Tronson (1622–1700)—'Monsieur Tronson'. He was the third Superior-General and truly representative of its spirit, a corpulent but ascetic man who resigned an attractive post as chaplain to the king, and later refused a bishopric, to dedicate his life to the training of priests. His book *Examens Particuliers* (1690) was the offspring of a fervent soul and long experience as seminary director. The book has remained a classic, some of its precepts may cause a smile, but the high quality of the writing, its delicacy of

analysis and its common sense make it an undisputed masterpiece in the training of priests.[38]

Less satisfactory were conditions among the priests and nuns of the old religious Orders. No doubt Bossuet was thinking of them when he wrote to the abbot of La Trappe: 'The Church's affairs are in a very bad state . . .' The *in commendam* principle governing the revenues of unoccupied benefices was still in force, and not even the best people—among them Bossuet, who derived benefit from the custom—found fault with it. We have seen the disastrous effects resulting from the system, which hampered the efforts for reform made during the preceding period. The behaviour of some communities was conspicuously scandalous; the Benedictine nuns at Metz dispensed entirely with communal fasting and took turns, one at a time, to carry out the fast for all the rest. During carnival time they dressed up their porters and gardeners in their own habits. The sons of St Bernard got rid of the *Histoire générale de la réforme de Cîteaux* from their libraries, because the work laid bare their vices. The Franciscans and Dominicans were hardly better. However, it is unnecessary to stress these known facts.

Furthermore, in one way and another relations between the Regulars and the hierarchy were bad: often because of a clash of interests. 'There would be greater spiritual independence', said Fénelon, 'if there were no material interests at stake.' But the discord was also due to the fact that so many religious of all Orders had lost their sense of discipline. Strife broke out at every opportunity: in France, in Italy, and even in Poland, where an incident involving the abbey of Andrezejow caused a riot, and in the Low Countries, where a group of Benedictines were in open conflict with all the bishops of the country.

Notwithstanding this picture of decadence there were some encouraging exceptions. In every sphere of religious life attempts at reform met with a measure of success; nowhere, however, was the fundamental issue faced squarely: that is to say, whether the organization of the regular clergy really

On 28th April 1657 Jean Le Bouthellier called at the city residence of the Montbazons, with whom he was on familiar terms. It was early in the morning, for he had been worried about the health of the *duchesse* for several days. On the steps he met M. de Soubise, who exclaimed: 'It is finished; the play has ended.' Le Bouthellier collapsed with grief on the stone steps, making no attempt to hide his feelings.

He was a handsome young man of thirty-one, of brilliant intellect and such wide culture that at fifteen years of age he had published a translation of Anacreon. He was of a violent, impulsive disposition and inclined to extremes in everything. Bremond called him 'the thundering abbot'. He had already had a dazzling career in the Church; partly through his father's influence and partly through the kindness of Richelieu, his godfather, ecclesiastical benefices had been piling up for him ever since he was eleven. He was a canon of Notre Dame at Paris, chaplain to the King, abbot of Saint-Symphorien-Lès-Beauvais, of La Trappe, of Notre-Dame du Val, of Saint-Clementin in Poitou, and prior of Boulogne—an amazing achievement, but such was the custom of the age.

When he rose from the steps he went to pray beside the dead body of the woman whom he loved tenderly as a friend rather than as one of his penitents. He spent the whole of the following summer in one of his castles examining his conscience and writing down his thoughts. Had God sent him upon earth to be a worldly priest intent on cultivating useful connections, surrounded by lackeys, enjoying the pleasures of the hunt and his magnificent carriages? He went through a heart-rending spiritual crisis. God seemed to speak to him and reproach him so severely that the deep repentance he felt never afterwards left him. He determined to be as lavish in his penances as he had been in worldly enjoyments. The priests of the Oratory, Pavillon and the austere Bishop of Alet, all set him on the right path, and he determined to follow it to the end.

He suddenly relinquished all his livings: of his titles he re-

tained only that of abbot of La Trappe. The Cistercian abbey of La Trappe was in the diocese of Séez, in Normandy. Like most monasteries of White Monks, it had badly deteriorated. The walls were cracked, the ground overrun with brambles; of the two hundred monks who had once dwelt there only six remained, and they lived like poachers, or rather like thieves. Rancé, the commendatory abbot, set to work; he decided to reform that wretched community and restore life to La Trappe. If it were God's will a salutary influence would spread from this restored community to the others, perhaps even to the whole Order of St Bernard.

He had to face strain and stress, and even danger, for the six ruffianly monks were capable of using dagger and poison. But 'the thundering abbot' held his own. He succeeded in replacing the reprobates by Cistercians of the strict observance, who followed his way of life. Moreover, throughout the Order everyone became seriously disturbed by the prevalence of unseemly ways. Eustache de Beaufort reformed Sept-Fons, near Moulins, with Rancé as its leader. But attempts by the abbot of La Trappe to impose a more strict observance upon every monastery were unsuccessful; the 'mitigated' opposed him, and even won over the authorities at Rome. Rancé was not distressed; he would be satisfied if La Trappe became the only community in which God would be served by a life of penance, and his example must prove contagious. After all, everything seemed to show that he was right: vocations were numerous, and often quite surprising—a former seafaring man, an unfrocked priest, the ex-provost marshal of Touraine and so on.

It was the spirit of penance that drew them all to La Trappe—the same spirit that took others to Port-Royal. Rancé progressed passionately along the path of renunciation, as it was in his nature to do. He did without fish, eggs, butter and wine; he gave up sleeping on his straw mattress. The monks were no longer allowed to leave the monastery; they maintained perpetual silence; their lives were governed by the singing of the Office day and night and the carrying out of

heavy manual work. To what limits would the spirit of penance lead this great and terrible abbot? The ordeal of singing the Psalms standing barefooted on the icy flagstones for ten or twelve hours at a time seemed natural to him. But it undoubtedly proved too much, and he had to slacken a little in face of protests and an increase in the number of sick. La Trappe became, however, the very home of penance, a model of renunciation carried to the limits of human endurance. Innocent XI approved the reformed Rule in 1678, and La Trappe became foremost of all the monasteries of St Bernard in striving to renounce their former laxity and adhere to strict observance. So it has remained to the present day.

It has often been said of Rancé, in his own time and since, that his behaviour was immoderate. It is true that some of the hardships practised in various Trappist monasteries were beyond the limits envisaged by the kindly St Bernard. It is equally certain that Rancé's scorn for the parading of intellectual pursuits, an attitude that brought about his violent quarrel with Mabillon[42] and Le Masson, was very different from the attitude of him who had declared that it was 'not becoming for the spouse of Christ to be illiterate'. But it is remarkable that in a century so obviously worldly and frivolous so many souls turned to La Trappe as to a haven of salvation; that so many penitents from court and city should have approached the abbot for guidance in the leading of better lives. One may argue about Rancé, but there is not the slightest doubt that when he died in 1700 one of the great spiritual lights of his time was extinguished.[43]

10. CHARITY: THE MISSION: ST GRIGNION DE MONTFORT

The spirit of revival in evidence during the first half of the century was just as decisively concerned with charity and the apostolate as it was with reform. But what was its position during the classical age? Here again we should not speak of an eclipse, but rather of a slowing down of creative effort. St

Vincent de Paul was no longer on the scene, but his lessons continued to bear fruit.

The spirit of charity was not wanting during the Great Century. Preachers extolled the virtue in stirring accents. The mystery of the poor (their 'eminent dignity', to use Bossuet's phrase) and the duty of the rich to give alms were frequent subjects of sermons. 'When God made the rich', said Fléchier, 'His purpose was to make them charitable. He chose them to be the instruments of His goodness, the channels along which flow His exterior graces within the Church. He imposes upon them a command and a necessity, not merely a counsel' And Bourdaloue exclaimed· 'Why are you rich unless it be for the sake of the poor?' It was not a case of finding a subject for eloquent oratory. Many of those who listened to these admonitions put into practice the precepts they learned, and the example came from those in high places. When members of the nobility died they bequeathed their property to the poor; organizations, such as the Apostolic Association to which we have referred, recruited its members from among the wealthy classes, and continued the charitable work of the Company of the Blessed Sacrament. For half a century laymen had become more and more aware of their responsibilities in relation to charity, and works undertaken by saintly people tended to become organized and formed part of definite charitable enterprises. Governments co-operated with the Church towards the same end. More and more hospitals and hostels were established. To the General Hospital in Paris were added the Val-de-Grâce and Les Invalides. Throughout the French provinces twenty-seven hospitals were opened between 1661 and 1715, in addition to those built during the preceding period. In the territories conquered by the Great King the bishops usually opened a hospital as soon as they took over the administration of their dioceses; e g. Bishop Choiseul at Tournai. Italy and Austria did likewise. Three hospitals were built at Turin, two at Milan, two at Venice and four at Vienna.

All the religious Orders dedicated to charity prospered;

this was partly due to the decline of the mystics, for the contemplative Orders lost recruits to the advantage of active institutions. The splendid community of the Sisters of Charity began to develop at this period.[44] The Brothers of St John of God–*Fate bene fratelli*[45]–were also expanding rapidly; in France, Italy, Spain and even in Spanish America their houses multiplied. Their hospital in Rome, built on an island in the Tiber, was continually enlarged. The various Charité hospitals in Paris and in the French provinces experienced the same growth. The Brothers even established small hospitals in country districts run by a brother who was a doctor. The Camillians undertook similar work. All the female Orders and communities devoted to charity were developing rapidly. New ones were founded with specific vocations: refuges for fallen women were opened at Besançon, and institutions for Protestant converts and the *Nouvelles catholiques*, to which the Sisters of Christian Union were dedicated. Founded by Vachet and his sister Mlle de Crézé, they opened eighteen houses in ten years. Prisoners, convicts, condemned criminals for whom the heart of Monsieur Vincent had bled –none was forgotten. Few people know that in Italy the great scholar Muratori devoted all the hours he could spare from his library work to those poor outcasts. Mercedarians, Trinitarians and, of course, Lazarists were ever mindful of the fate of those unfortunate people, and the first two institutions established in Spain strove heroically to ransom those who suffered in the Berber prisons. The former Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem, henceforward known as the Knights of Malta, experienced a revival and returned to their traditional role.

The charity of Christ was not dead. There was certainly too much dissipation of effort and too little organization, resulting in reduced efficiency, but the effort was none the less splendid.

The Mission, which was one of the flowers that blossomed during the Great Century,[46] continued to thrive, though less vigorously than in the time of Monsieur Vincent. Of the old

team St John Eudes still remained, and continued to wear himself out during the first twenty years of the personal rule of Louis XIV. The indefatigable Father Maunoir worked on in Brittany until 1683. A way had been found to kindle the spiritual flame in souls; the best bishops were adopting it systematically and establishing numerous diocesan missions. Antoine Pierre de Grammont, Archbishop of Besançon, entrusted the Josephites with a mission to Lyons that lasted two months. He organized in all about a hundred, which were undertaken by Capuchins, Jesuits, Oratorians, Benedictines and a group of secular priests 'whose work in the Lord's vineyard', he said, 'was very fruitful'. At Limoges, Louis de Lascaris d'Urfé sent for Father Honoré, a Capuchin from Cannes, who had preached no fewer than three hundred missions and was therefore an expert. Every important Order and community took part in this great work: the Lazarists with Father Planat, apostle of Auvergne, and Father Bonal, a pioneer from Rouergue; the Capuchins with Father Séraphin of Paris; the Jesuits with Father de Lingendes and Father de la Colombière, a champion of devotion to the Sacred Heart. René Lévêque added to their number his Compagnie des Piétistes de Saint-Clément.

It is a remarkable fact that the idea of the mission spread from France to the great Catholic countries. In Italy its unflagging leader was the Jesuit Father Paolo Segneri, the most famous preacher of his day. There was not a province in the country where he did not preach missions between 1665 and 1692. After his death his cousin and friend Father Segneri the younger and Father Pinamonti continued his work. In southern Italy, which suffered great distress, Father Cristofarini laboured in the Abruzzi, and the ascetic Father Ansalone battled for forty years against the vices of Naples. Father Francisco de Geronimo, another Jesuit, also preached in Naples To assist him he established two lay communities known respectively as the 'Two Hundred' and the 'Seventy-two', the latter working in secret All these great Italian missioners were extraordinary men. they used the discipline in

public, preached in the streets, in the squares and before the theatres; they engaged in violent debate with their opponents and called a spade a spade, railing against sin in holy anger. They were true men of action. It is said that during Father de Geronimo's missions he made between one hundred and five hundred converts yearly.

The mission also progressed in Spain, but it was less vigorous and less spectacular. Father Tirso Gonzalez was a remarkable missioner before being elected General of the Society of Jesus. So was the famous Portuguese preacher Antonio Vieira; he preached a 'Station' at the court and journeyed to the West Indies. The missions multiplied in Germany. The Jesuit Father Schacht laboured in Hamburg, Jemingen in the south, Ampferle in Breisgau, Scheffler in Silesia; the Capuchins Prokop von Templin and Martin von Cochem were the apostles of the Rhineland. Bishop Fürstenberg of Paderborn left nearly 100,000 thalers on his death to finance missionary work. It would be impossible to overestimate the importance of this great kneading of the dough of Christianity. It was thanks to the missions that the canton of Valais was restored, and that the greater part of the Helvetic canton of Thurgau returned to Catholicism. Protestantism was repelled in Hungary through the missionary activities of Father Stankoviez and Bishop Erdoddy.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century and in the early part of the eighteenth Louis Marie Grignion de Montfort was the embodiment of the missionary spirit as well as of the spirit of charity and penance. He was a man of vast energy and a great saint. He stood aloof from his time, a sort of misfit in the religious life around him, utterly outside the austere and rather uniform pattern of the existing priestly ideal. We might say he was an eccentric; but there have been many such in the Church who have none the less played an important role. St Philip Neri was one; St Francis of Assisi another. Let us say that our saint was 'mad about God'. Everything we know of him through reliable witnesses suggests that he was a strange figure, a ragged and penniless priest

who begged his bread and proclaimed his poverty as others display their wealth. He was a wonder-worker who healed the sick by laying his hands upon them. He had experience of spectacular and mysterious occurrences: good and bad angels fought for possession of the sinful soul of a dying man, and not without coming to blows. To demonstrate the meaning of charity he would kiss the purulent sores of the sick, as Catherine of Siena had done. Most certainly all holiness is not necessarily expressed in actions of that kind, but they are a manifestation of holiness. Indeed, it was not a bad thing to remind Christians of the Great Century that the ethics of the Beatitudes are not identical with those of human wisdom, and that no scandal ever shocked more than the scandal of the Cross.

Louis Marie Grignion was of Breton stock, Montfort being a village of the old diocese of Saint-Malo. His father was a briefless barrister who had great difficulty in bringing up his eighteen children. When the future saint, whose piety had astonished his masters in the Jesuit school at Rennes, decided to go to Paris to study for the priesthood, he had nothing approaching the 300 *livres* necessary at that time to enter a seminary, and had to depend upon the generosity of some good friends. Thanks to them he was admitted to the annexe of Saint-Sulpice, where M. de la Baroudière accepted the sons of poor families. He was then twenty years of age, having been born in 1673, and was already well known for the strangeness of his behaviour, the violence of his penances and his thirst for humiliation. This young John the Baptist's continual talk of the Holy Ghost and the end of the world caused a smile at Saint-Sulpice; he was more severe than a Jansenist and had more devotion to Our Lady than a Jesuit. Some strange tales were current about him. Once when he accompanied one of his superiors who had business with a bank, he was found on his knees in the main office among the employees and servants, praying without paying the slightest attention to those around him.

Louis Marie was ordained priest in 1700, and was invited

to Nantes by the aged René Lévêque, whose Compagnie des Piétistes de Saint-Clément emulated the Lazarists in preaching missions in country districts. He went about preaching everywhere, and met with success; but his manner did not please the traditionalists. Ten months later Bishop Girard, who surmised what good a priest of his type might achieve in the denser parts of Poitiers, invited him to that city. Louis Marie Grignion roused the people so effectually that the bishop entrusted him with the chaplaincy of the hospital. It was a badly run hospital, lacking in generosity and the spirit of dedication; it therefore provided the saint with his first opportunity to exert his influence. He found the sick neglected, and the nurses, who were lay folk, were wanting in discipline. The new chaplain took this chaotic little world in hand. A wonderful and pious idea occurred to him: he decided to associate the sick with the running of the establishment, especially from the spiritual point of view. He elaborated his plan, and formed his willing helpers into a congregation. He gathered his 'daughters' together in a large ward, in the centre of which he stood a cross—he called it the Hall of Wisdom—and he made them recite the Office as nuns do. News of what he was doing spread around the city. The daughter of Trichet, a public attorney of the presidial court, offered to help him; she left the world and donned an ashen-grey woollen habit, taking the name of Marie-Louise de Jésus. The squalid hospital became a model of cleanliness and the Daughters of Wisdom were founded. The saint achieved all this in five years. The community was very small, but today it numbers more than five thousand members.

These achievements were merely a beginning, enabling him to lay the foundations of his work. The hospital at Poitiers no longer needed him, but the peasants, whose faith was threatened, were waiting Louis Marie Grignion was grieved, as Monsieur Vincent had been, to find that the spirit of the Gospel no longer lived among the country people. Armed with his rosary and a great crucifix, which he held above his head as though for protection, he set out to give his missions.

He preached, erected Stations of the Cross and rebuilt churches. Soon he was in demand almost everywhere in Brittany and Normandy, and even beyond. From Saint-Malo he went to Saintes, from Saint-Brieuc to Coutances and La Rochelle. Enormous crowds gathered when he spoke, and he brought tears to their eyes when he talked to them of their misfortunes and Christ crucified. Many were the cities, market-towns and villages through which this tall, thin man passed in his ragged soutane. Many were the crowds that succumbed to the magic of this unattractive orator with gaunt face, large mouth and stubby nose; but his eyes shone, and his voice penetrated to the depths of their conscience. He was also a great walker, trekked everywhere, and made pilgrimages to many shrines including those of Notre-Dame des Ardilliers and Chartres.

His charity became a byword. It is said that while a seminarist at Saint-Sulpice he used to call on the servants of nobles and teach them the catechism. When he was working at his hospital in Poitiers everyone in the city had seen him sauntering along the streets and roaming around the markets leading a donkey carrying baskets for the food he begged. One day, when he came across two swordsmen about to fight a duel, he threw himself between them, grasping the murderous blades in both hands. On another occasion he found some dandies importuning young laundresses, removing the discipline which he always carried attached to his belt, he made such good use of it on their backs that they ran away. His idea of charity obviously did not exclude the use of violence! All sorts of stories were current about him. He even found his way into houses that were so unsparing in their hospitality that it would have been regarded as most unseemly for a priest to be seen there, yet he compelled the guests to leave by talking to them of the salvation of their souls.

His method of saving souls was one of which the authorities did not always approve without some hesitation: at least not until a long time afterwards, when he was canonized.

One after another the bishops, even those who had welcomed him to their dioceses, concluded that he went too far. 'If wisdom consists in undertaking nothing new for God and in not getting oneself talked about, the apostles made a great mistake when they left Jerusalem, in any case, St Paul should not have travelled so much, nor should St Peter have set up the Cross on the Capitol' That is indeed the language of Christian truth; but this difference of opinion gave rise to a great deal of discord from which Louis Marie Grignion drew supernatural lessons· 'More than ever am I impoverished, crucified, humiliated, men and devils wage a sweet and agreeable war against me Let them calumniate me, mock me, tear my reputation to pieces and cast me into prison, for these are precious gifts; to me they are dainty dishes Oh, when shall I be crucified and dead to the world?' Most certainly he had no rule of life but the 'folly' of the Cross.

Such was the nature of his strong and original spirituality. As a student of Olier and Tronson, a voracious reader of Boudon, and 'Bérullian' in outlook, Louis Marie Grignion added new material to what he had received from his predecessors, and that material was drawn from his personal experience. He declared that one must 'empty oneself of self' and 'adhere to God', as his teachers had said. He demanded of those who listened to him that they 'cleave to God' and practise a 'holy slavery'. This great ascetic was a mystic who instinctively reconciled both tendencies He was a belated defender of the principle of 'pure love'. Furthermore, Jansenists and their supporters held him in great contempt. But this paradoxical saint, who attempted to manage the world, wished to emphasize one important fact above all others: God's wisdom in what to men is foolishness, the sublime absurdity that is the sole legitimate end of the Christian His remarkable book entitled *Amour de la Sagesse éternelle* reiterates this principle, 'the placing of all wisdom in the wounds of Christ', the preaching of Christ humiliated, despised and crucified, and nothing else His entirely Pauline and Augustinian doctrine compensated for the occasional too human element

in the Christocentrism of the seventeenth century. His teaching, however, did not cease to address itself to men's hearts; for Louis Marie Grignion not only pointed to the end, he offered the means to attain it· recourse to Mary, the sweet Mother, the mediatrix of grace; and such was the purpose of his moving *Traité de la vraie dévotion à la Sainte Vierge*.

However, this wholly dedicated life exhausted him. His work had prospered despite every difficulty. He went to Rome —on foot, of course—where his efforts won approval, and he was given the title of 'Apostolic Missioner', a term made famous in the past by Jacques de Vitry. So many people came forward to help him that he was able to found a community of priests destined for the mission fields, of which he had dreamed since his early years as a priest. In 1712 he founded the Company of Mary or Missionaries of Mary, who carried on and expanded his apostolate of the countryside. Around them he gathered a group of fellow workers, originally laymen, under the name of Brothers of the Holy Ghost.[47] He allotted them the task of educating the children of the poor, for he was as much concerned with the problem of training the young as with the apostolate. Shortly before his death he sent Sister Marie-Louise de Jésus to open a school at La Rochelle for the daughters of working-class families. But he had worn himself out at an early age by his ascetic life and his superhuman efforts. In 1716, at the age of forty-three, he went peacefully to God.

The Great King had died shortly before, and with the Regency began an era in which Christianity rapidly disintegrated St Louis Marie Grignion de Montfort foresaw more than anyone else the march of events leading to that circumstance. He was the prophet of those latter days, the Jeremias of the dying seventeenth century, and with all his strength he shouted his warnings in moving words: 'Remember, Lord. Now is the time to fulfil Your promise. Your divine law has been transgressed, Your Gospel slighted, Your religion rejected, torrents of iniquity flood the earth and there is abomination even in the holy places Will You remain silent for

ever? I appeal to You through Your Mother. Remember her compassion and do not cast me aside. Rise up, Lord, in Your mercy.'

Such was the last witness whom the Great Century had to offer of its faith, its torments and its hopes. The important point is that this barefooted priest, so foolish in the sight of men, but so holy before God, had little or nothing in common with the traditional conception of the 'classical Christian'.

11. CHRISTIAN EDUCATION: FROM CHARLES DÉMIA TO ST JEAN-BAPTISTE DE LA SALLE

St Louis Marie Grignion was not alone in his anxiety for the education of children. he shared his concern with a number of contemporaries. One, of course, was Monsieur Vincent, whose saintly followers, led by Marguerite Naseau, became teachers,[48] equally concerned were M. Bourdoise, Pierre Fourier,[49] the Jesuits, the Oratorians, the Ursulines and many others. The education of the young remained one of the major cares of society in the seventeenth century. That concern, indeed, was among the brighter aspects of the period, although the attempts made to increase the number of schools and to make education available to all classes of society are some of its least appreciated features. Our democratic régimes pride themselves on having made education widespread, but before them the old Catholic régime, especially in France, carried on a work that in many respects the former have merely inherited.

About 1660, educational undertakings experienced something in the nature of a pause following upon a fruitful period, but they soon regained momentum, and public authorities became interested. The king insisted on many occasions that every parish should have its school. In 1700 an edict instructed judges and attorneys to ensure that parish priests checked the regular attendance of children at school. In this field as in that of charitable enterprise the State looked to the Church to organize education and provide the means of carry-

ing it out. Moreover, in accordance with the spirit of the times the two spheres merged, 'the exercise of charity and the education of youth' are two terms which are very often found together in the annals of the seventeenth century. The provincial assemblies gave the name 'Office of Public Welfare' to the department which combined matters relating to relief, education and agriculture. The Church, loyal to a duty it has never shirked, entered fully into the effort to provide against the inadequacy of the educational system and to adapt it to the needs of the time. Education, according to Fléchier, 'appertains neither to charity nor to human institutions, but is a divine command and a matter of justice'. But the teaching had to be Catholic, for it was inseparable from a Christian education—a fact expressly stated in an ordinance of 1698. This is the answer to the legend that the ancient régime of the Church was the myrmidon of ignorance.

By 1661 some remarkable results had been achieved in various branches of education. In so far as higher education was concerned, the universities, after a period of crisis, were reorganized during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Sorbonne retained its high reputation; it was a veritable oracle of Christendom, and its doctors, universally famous, were a closed circle to which it was impossible to gain admittance without strict tests, including the presentation of a thesis which lasted a whole day. But the students' colleges, even the celebrated Collège de Navarre, were dominated by routine, and were out of touch with the educational discoveries of the day. The type of education which might be called secondary approached the higher standard of the universities in so far as the upper forms were concerned, and it tended more and more to remain in the hands of the religious Orders which inclined to this method at the beginning of the century.[50] The education of the children of the nobility and the upper middle class was mostly in the hands of the Jesuits. Their colleges multiplied, not only in France where they numbered about a hundred in 1700, but also in Germany, in Bohemia and Austria (101), in Italy (135), in Spain (105) and in

present-day Belgium (26). They have often been taken to task for the uniformity and lack of originality in their teaching, as well as for needless insistence on discipline which left too strong an impression on the child. But they produced first-class men, admirably trained in self-control and capable of undertaking methodical work. The colleges run by the Oratory[51] were more modern in their teaching methods and were the only serious rivals of the Jesuits after the Jansenist crisis had almost eliminated the 'Little Schools' of Port-Royal. They too were among the *élite* of educationists, especially in their college at Juilly. As for the education of young society girls, the most prominent teachers were the Ursuline nuns, the daughters of St Angela Merici.[52] In France alone they had three hundred and twenty houses. They were closely followed by the Visitandines, the Sisters of the Holy Child Jesus,[53] the Dames de Saint-Maur and many others; and Port-Royal ran schools under the rule drafted by Jacqueline Pascal.

This was a very satisfactory state of affairs. Elementary education for girls had been given a strong impetus during the preceding epoch, and many Orders and congregations were dedicated to that work. The Sisters of Charity were most prominent, but the Ursulines, the Visitandines and the Notre-Dame Sisters ran schools for the daughters of the poor side by side with those for the children of the wealthy. An extremely large number of local congregations and institutes were established and developed· the Sisters of Providence; the Sisters of Ernemont, founded in Rouen in 1698 by a friend of Renty and Bernières,[54] Grignion de Montfort's Daughters of Wisdom, a number of whom were dedicated to teaching; the Sisters of the Holy Family at Besançon; the Filles de l'Enfance, who were forced to disband on account of their Jansenist tendencies; the Sisters of the Christian Doctrine in Nancy; and the Sisters of the Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament in the Avignon district. The fecundity of educational establishments during that period is staggering; they were perhaps a little chaotic, but there is no doubt about the amount of good work done. The fact that generally speaking

more women than men today practise their faith in all the Catholic countries of Europe is in a large measure due to the work of the good teaching sisters.

The position in relation to elementary education was not quite the same where boys were concerned. Not that they were neglected; we have seen[55] that 'parish schools' and 'charity schools' were widespread during the first half of the century. We have also seen how public authorities insisted on the need to open schools and the importance of regular attendance; and the bishops, or at least the best among them, moved in the same direction. At Autun, Gabriel de Roquette drew up a complete plan for primary education, and his successor Colbert, son of the great minister, went so far as to compel parish priests to bring in from the fields children who failed to attend school. Pavillon, Bishop of Alet, allotted 7,000 *livres* from his annual budget of 20,000 for the education of the poor Broadly speaking it is correct to say that in France (though much less so in Spain and Italy, and still less within the Empire) the majority of parishes had a primary school which normally depended upon the parish priest. But the problem of teachers still remained unsolved, they were in dreadfully short supply. No religious congregation was entirely devoted to teaching, so that the situation was very different from that affecting girls. The Brethren of the Common Life, the Piarists and the Doctrinarians leaned towards secondary education; the efforts of the Lazarists and M. Bourdoise's priests were limited in scope. In consequence a definite retrogression was noticeable about 1660. When Jean-Baptiste de la Salle arrived in the neighbourhood of Saint-Sulpice only one 'charity' school had survived of the thirty that functioned in the time of M. Olier, and with very inadequate teaching staff Such a deficiency, which could have been made up solely by institutions devoted to teaching poor children, was indefensible.

In 1666 the magistrates of Lyons received a long report under the heading *Remontrances* 'dealing with the need for and usefulness of Christian schools for the teaching of poor

France would have been the first nation to have a Minister of Education, and he would have been a Christian.

Charles Démia was not alone in his vocation. We have seen what was accomplished by St Grignion de Montfort and his disciples. Father Barré, a Minim, a saintly and contemplative man associated with the foundation of the Sisters of the Holy Child Jesus and the Dames de Saint-Maur, tried to establish at Rouen, and later at Paris, a community to be known as the Brothers of the Holy Child Jesus, with the object of giving free education to poor children. In fact he made little progress, but his *Statuts et Règlements* laid the foundation of future achievements. One of his followers, Canon Nicolas Roland, an extraordinary character who at fifteen years of age performed in a play at the coronation of Louis XIV and later sailed in a pirate ship, took up Father Barré's idea and initiated at Rheims a scheme for the education of girls. He intended to establish a college for teachers, but did not live long enough to complete his work. Another disciple of Father Barré was Adrien Nyel, a humble teacher of burning enthusiasm and simplicity of soul. He attempted to set up schools all over France, and he might have achieved a great deal had he been a better organizer. All these efforts were not futile; they prepared the way for one who was a teacher of genius, a methodical organizer and a true saint who reaped the fruit of all that went before: St Jean-Baptiste de la Salle.

In the spring of the year 1688 the parish of Saint-Sulpice in Paris was in a state of great excitement. From the Rue Dauphine to the Invalides, from the Seine to Notre-Dame des Champs, everyone was talking of the new ideas that were being introduced at the old school in the Rue Princesse, where the poor children of the district had been taught since the time of M. Olier. Some people thought the new master's strange methods absurd; others thought them excellent. He was a priest from Rheims, assisted by two laymen both oddly dressed. His first decision was to exclude Latin from the curriculum, and he abolished compulsory manual work; the whole class received instruction together, not individually.

The dunces thought the discipline too severe; the parents thought it too lax. And the parish priest wondered whether he had done right to call on the services of this M. de la Salle.

The charity school in the Rue Princesse was in very poor shape when the new team took over. It was the last surviving school of the thirty functioning in M. Olier's time, and numbered two hundred pupils whom poor M. Compagnon, assisted by a fifteen-year-old boy and a voluntary worker who was a hosier by trade, found great difficulty in controlling. M. de la Salle and his two companions did not easily win obedience from these 'wild young animals', as they called them. But apparently their methods were not bad, for order gradually returned to the school in the Rue Princesse. The number of pupils quickly grew, and they worked. The censure of the pessimists and everlasting critics came to nothing. The inquiry undertaken by M. Forbin-Janson on behalf of the authorities did not bear out the accusations brought by scandalmongers. Better still, the new parish priest M. Baudrand pressed M. de la Salle to open a new school in the Rue du Bac, and three hundred pupils were accepted. Thus the work prospered.

Who was this M. de la Salle whose methods were so effective? He was a priest of thirty-seven years of age (born in 1651) whose family came from Champagne. They had grown rich in business and rediscovered their ancient nobility in exercising the responsibilities of the magistracy. Intended for the Church, Jean-Baptiste was made a canon at the age of sixteen and thus provided with a sound living. He studied zealously under M. Tronson at the seminary of Saint-Sulpice. At twenty-seven he was ordained, returned to Rheims and settled down to the life of a well-to-do canon with an income of 40,000 *livres*, acquired quite legitimately. But fate—or rather Providence—unexpectedly brought him into contact with Nicolas Roland, his colleague in the cathedral chapter; later he met Adrien Nyel, who was obsessed with the idea of teaching as a method of reaching souls, and had answered

The dunces thought the discipline too severe; the parents thought it too lax. And the parish priest wondered whether he had done right to call on the services of this M. de la Salle.

The charity school in the Rue Princesse was in very poor shape when the new team took over. It was the last surviving school of the thirty functioning in M. Olier's time, and numbered two hundred pupils whom poor M. Compagnon, assisted by a fifteen-year-old boy and a voluntary worker who was a hosier by trade, found great difficulty in controlling. M. de la Salle and his two companions did not easily win obedience from these 'wild young animals', as they called them. But apparently their methods were not bad, for order gradually returned to the school in the Rue Princesse. The number of pupils quickly grew, and they worked. The censure of the pessimists and everlasting critics came to nothing. The inquiry undertaken by M. Forbin-Janson on behalf of the authorities did not bear out the accusations brought by scandalmongers. Better still, the new parish priest M. Baudrand pressed M. de la Salle to open a new school in the Rue du Bac, and three hundred pupils were accepted. Thus the work prospered.

Who was this M. de la Salle whose methods were so effective? He was a priest of thirty-seven years of age (born in 1651) whose family came from Champagne. They had grown rich in business and rediscovered their ancient nobility in exercising the responsibilities of the magistracy. Intended for the Church, Jean-Baptiste was made a canon at the age of sixteen and thus provided with a sound living. He studied zealously under M. Tronson at the seminary of Saint-Sulpice. At twenty-seven he was ordained, returned to Rheims and settled down to the life of a well-to-do canon with an income of 40,000 *livres*, acquired quite legitimately. But fate—or rather Providence—unexpectedly brought him into contact with Nicolas Roland, his colleague in the cathedral chapter; later he met Adrien Nyel, who was obsessed with the idea of teaching as a method of reaching souls, and had answered

the call of some pious women in the town who wished to open charity schools. Everything happened naturally and inexorably for Jean-Baptiste de la Salle. He was caught as it were in a net, but it was the net of God's will. How could he possibly have escaped the obligation he was under to Nicolas Roland who, on his deathbed, left the care of his orphanage to Jean-Baptiste? He was equally susceptible to the warmth of Adrien Nyel, who appealed to his charity. To please Adrien he bought a house to accommodate the teachers of the schools for the poor; and he began to take an interest in these good people who had meant little to him and whom he had rather looked down upon from his prosperous middle-class position.

At length he plunged into the work, preaching a retreat to his boarders and providing them with a Rule of Life. Without really intending to do so he found he had created a training college for primary schoolteachers. The teaching profession thus came to him suddenly and unexpectedly. When Adrien Nyel one day went to establish a school at Guise, Canon de la Salle took his place in the classroom. His family thought he was mad, and when he installed the teachers in the family home they were convinced that he was, so much so that his own brothers left home in disgust. Things got even worse when, on the advice of Father Barré, whom he went to consult in Paris, he obeyed to the letter Christ's command to the rich young man. He resigned his canonry and distributed all his wealth to the poor, providing for the destitute during a dreadful famine. Immediately he became poor among the poor, as were the teachers around him and with whom he now felt on close and brotherly terms. His little group was established It was not yet an institute, much less the congregation to be known as the Brothers of the Christian Schools; but in the sight of God and man it was already in existence on 28th May 1684. About a dozen schoolteachers made a vow to dedicate their lives to teaching the children of the common people, to live as lay religious in poverty and self-sacrifice, with Jean-Baptiste de la Salle as

their leader and soul of their little group. A great work was unobtrusively born into the Church.

Jean-Baptiste de la Salle was indeed an extraordinary man. This well-to-do canon of gentle and refined disposition, modest and unassuming in his way, became a stern ascetic, using the discipline, wearing a hair shirt and a painful belt against his skin, sleeping on a plank and fasting more often than the law enjoined. But he was also a mystic, as is clear from his splendid book *Méditations pour le temps de la retraite.* He was a true son of the French school, of Saint-Sulpice and of Bérulle; his one aim in life was, to use the words of his predecessors, to 'adhere to God' and to promote His Kingdom. The efficacy of his spiritual life may be compared in some respects with that of Monsieur Vincent's. The influence he exerted, the sweet force that attached men to him, despite his extreme humility, sprang from his interior life. He would, of course, have been the last to regard his work as unique, vastly ahead of his time and stamped with the seal of genius; but it was so none the less.

He devoted his whole life to this unforeseen vocation to teach. He was to be nothing but a pedagogue, but in the noblest and fullest sense of that word. He had the primary and indispensable quality of a teacher, an understanding of children, he knew them and loved them. Moreover, he did not hesitate to lend a hand himself, taking the classes, going from desk to desk pointing out mistakes, and assisting those who were slow. His experience was unrivalled, and his splendid book, *Conduite des écoles*, shows him to have been a brilliant theorist. He regarded the ability to adapt oneself to a child as the foremost quality of a teacher, to be direct and realistic in order to reach the child's understanding. For that reason he did away with the teaching of Latin in beginners' classes, an old and rather silly practice.[56] To create a spirit of competition among students he made them work in teams, correcting each other's work. Before his time the teacher endeavoured with varying degrees of success to give individual instruction to each child in turn. In future the class was

taught as a whole, the students following the lessons in a book, each being questioned in turn. This is now the essential principle of modern teaching practice in primary schools, where spelling and arithmetic hold first place.

But many other ideas developed around this central principle. Teachers had to be trained to practise the new method of teaching. His modest institute aimed at providing this type of training, he founded training establishments to which every diocese sent prospective teachers and which eventually became the basis of our teachers' training colleges And, thought Jean-Baptiste, why should there not be special courses for adults and young people already working? These he organized, and they were the forerunners of our present-day continuation courses, clubs and study circles. The arrangement of special training facilities for difficult and backward pupils—a quite recent undertaking—was also the idea of Jean-Baptiste de la Salle. This great teacher appreciated that Latin was not indispensable to many middle-class children on completion of their primary education; they required instead a knowledge of the sciences and technical subjects. For them he founded the first of what are now our modern technical institutes. So manifest in his achievements are his genius for education and his talent for educational technique that even the most secular-minded of our modern French theorists, such as Ferdinand Buisson and Victor Duruy, pay homage to him and regard him as the precursor of modern educational practice.

Such was the man who staggered Paris by his innovations, after trying them out at Rheims and a few small towns. The success achieved in the neighbourhood of Saint-Sulpice gave new strength to the little band. In 1691 he took a large house in Vaugirard, and in October of the following year a training centre was opened with ten young trainees. The time had come for Jean-Baptiste de la Salle to establish his work on more solid foundations, and on 6th June 1694 he and six of his most dependable colleagues made a vow to the Blessed Trinity 'to form a society for the purpose of maintaining free

instituted in which justice was thwarted to the end that he might lose his case. He also had to defend himself and safeguard his work against those who endeavoured to take it over and use it for purposes different from his own· the Jansenists, especially in the south of France, showed excessive interest in the schools and the Brothers, and when their founder reacted against their schemes their wrath exploded, and they set out to destroy his work. In the face of countless and never-ending trials Jean-Baptiste de la Salle's weapon was a sublime confidence in God and humble submission to His will. The internal crises which shook his Institute caused him the greatest pain; they were perhaps the normal teething troubles of a new enterprise, but they were to him the source of intense suffering. There came a day when he had doubts about himself, his vocation and the usefulness of the work he had undertaken. St Teresa had also experienced similar moments of black despair.

But his soul was too magnanimous and too strong to yield to discouragement. The great majority of the Brothers remained loyal to him, even when, almost outlawed, he was forced to leave Paris; even when a tactless bishop endeavoured to have him replaced as Superior of the Institute; even, above all, when an attempt was made to break up the Institute and distribute its fragments among the dioceses. There exists a letter of matchless beauty signed by the directors of all his houses, begging their old superior, indeed commanding him 'in the name of the society to which he had promised obedience', to return and place himself at their head and save the work he had undertaken. He obeyed and came back, that was in 1714. The reign of the Great King was nearing its end; but St Jean-Baptiste de la Salle had given his Institute, tormented though it was by so many formidable forces, the means of preserving Christianity in the souls of the children of the common people, even after the outbreak of the Revolution.

When he died on 7th April 1719 the Brothers of the Christian Schools numbered 274 members. By 1900, the year of

their heroic and illustrious founder's canonization, they numbered 20,000, with over 350,000 pupils in their schools.

12. AN UNFULFILLED HOPE

Despite such figures as Jean-Baptiste de la Salle, Louis Marie Grignion de Montfort and Margaret Mary Alacoque, not forgetting Rancé and the glorious pulpit-orators, there remained aspects of the classical age which did not encourage optimism. From some points of view the outlook was distressing. At the end of the sixteenth century the Church had hoped that simultaneously with the work of order and renovation the work of reconquest might proceed, for she was not content to abandon for all time to the Protestants the territories in which they had settled. Unfortunately the 'Counter-Reformation' did not continue during the reign of Louis XIV. There were two methods envisaged by Catholics to reconquer lost souls, and they attempted to put both into effect together: conversion and the use of force. Both methods, demonstrated respectively in St Peter Canisius and the Battle of the White Mountain, seemed condemned to failure.

During the first half of the seventeenth century high-minded men considered that a reconciliation between Catholics and Protestants was possible.[57] These men were to be found in both camps, and serious efforts had been made towards reconciliation without worth-while results. The Lutheran Calixte, the master of Helmstedt, was criticized both by his co-religionists and by Catholics, and the great Capuchin Valerio Magni was eventually thrown into prison. The idea of reunion of the Churches was not however abandoned: it was taken up again during the last thirty years of the century and actively pursued. The situation appeared favourable, for the early fanaticism of the Reformation had seemingly diminished and various princely families of the Empire had returned to Catholicism. The various shades of Protestantism were more or less in the throes of a crisis and incapable of organizing a Church;[58] they were uneasy about the progress

of Socinianism[59] and worried about the growing power of the princes.

It was considered that a skilful policy of maintaining contact and a disposition to make concessions might furnish good results, and this was attempted in 1665 by Cristobal de Rojas y Spinola, a zealous Franciscan, more subtle, skilful and conciliatory perhaps than he was prudent and thoughtful. He was, nevertheless, a true apostle of reunion. As Bishop of Tina in Dalmatia, later of Wiener-Neustadt and confessor to the empress, he persuaded Rome that only he could bring about a *rapprochement*. Innocent XI, who was grieved by the Turkish threat and the great rift between Christians, put whole-hearted trust in him, and the Emperor Leopold firmly supported him. Armed with this twofold mandate, Spinola visited the various states of Germany, called on the princes and made numerous contacts with theologians of the reformed Church. The Papal Legate Bevilacqua was sent especially to follow up his efforts, and the ardent Spaniard imagined that victory was in his hands. He felt convinced of the early conversion of the Elector of Saxony and the Elector Palatine; in Hanover, in any case, John Frederick, won over to Rome, was assisting the Capuchins and Jesuits to convert the masses, and abjurations were so numerous that Rome appointed a Vicar Apostolic. A wave of optimism spread despite the pessimistic reports of the Nuncio at Vienna It was at this juncture that the Dane Niels Stensen (or Stenon) became a convert, was ordained priest and eventually consecrated bishop. Molanus, the Lutheran abbot of Lokkum, appeared to be on the point of recanting. When Spinola went to Rome in 1678 to give an account of his mission his infectious enthusiasm influenced well-intentioned people, including the Pope, into believing that they were on the eve of a great victory.

In actual fact, when it came to the preparation of a plan for reunion, matters appeared less straightforward. In 1683, after many discussions, Spinola and his questioners agreed upon the following points: Rome would concede the marriage

of priests, Communion under both species for the laity, and approve a German liturgy; in consideration of which the Lutherans would recognize the Pope. Other points of doctrine would be submitted to a new council; meanwhile the Tridentine decisions would be held in abeyance. By all appearances Spinola went too far, and the Holy Office, despite Innocent XI, who continued to rely upon the generous Franciscan, was right to protest. Further, two questions remained unanswered: one concerned Catholic property which had been secularized, and the other concerned the role which the princes had assumed within the Churches. It soon became clear that the latter was the stumbling-block. In Hanover, John Frederick's successor proved hostile to every approach. Everywhere else, in Sweden, Denmark and Brandenburg, the situation hardened. It was the same in Catholic countries: in France, where the Edict of Nantes was about to be revoked, in Bohemia, where the saintly Cardinal von Harrach, a great pioneer of missionary work, was being more and more hampered in his activities; in Hungary, where the Primate of Gran continued to effect conversions by the use of force, exile and the galleys. Repudiated by Rome, thwarted in Germany by vested interests, Spinola continued in vain, though tirelessly, his travels in search of reconciliation. When he died in 1695 he had achieved nothing definite.

While Spinola was active in the practical sphere, theoretical discussions began between the Catholics and the Lutherans. The Lutheran representative was Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz (1646–1716), an encyclopedic genius, learned in literature and science, theology and history, philosophy and law; a remarkably engaging personality, thoughtful, shrewd and generous. His splendid qualifications were the result not only of vast erudition, but also of his travels in Europe, where he had made the acquaintance of such men as Malebranche, the great Arnauld, Newton and Huyghens. Leibniz was a member of the Aulic Council at the court of Hanover, that is to say one of the most active centres of irenicism. He had an intense desire for unity, he revived the grandiose ideas of

Sully and Grotius, and dreamed of rebuilding the unity of Europe through the creation of a Christian republic. To him Christianity was one and the Church was one; one in her belief in a few great fundamental truths that guaranteed salvation; one in the love that united all her members. Leibniz was by no means hostile to the Catholic and Roman Church. He admired her discipline and her religious Orders, whom he called 'a saintly, a heavenly host'. He even understood the customs, liturgy, ceremonial and music of the Church. He reproached her, however, for being loaded with too many corrupt practices, for being intolerant—in his eyes excommunication was as reprehensible as schism itself—and with clinging to useless dogma. Moreover, Leibniz did not regard Protestant churches as being universal either; they were individual churches, just as intolerant and just as intractable in their dogmatism. In short, the author of *Traité de la Souveraineté*, *Essais de Théodicée* and *La Monadologie* demanded the adherence of all Christians to an invisible Church built on charity and faith, while adherence to a visible Church might be maintained by diversity within unity.

About 1680 intellectual circles of Christian Europe were giving Leibniz's ideas serious attention. The Holy See was slightly misled by the terms he used in referring to the religious Orders, the Blessed Virgin, the saints, and even papal authority itself, it saw him as a messenger of reconciliation, so much so that it offered him a post as librarian at the Vatican! He maintained relations with the Archbishop of Mainz, the Papal Legate Bevilacqua, Father Malebranche, and even the Nuncio in Vienna. But his relationship with Bossuet was the closest of all. From his early youth Bossuet had always enjoyed discussions with Protestants He embarked upon them loyally and seriously, certainly with the firm intention of winning Protestants over to the Catholic Church, but he was equally determined not to yield on basic principles. When Bossuet published his *Explication de la doctrine chrétienne* Leibniz assured him that he had an extremely high opinion of his work; similarly Bossuet's later book, *His-*

toire des variations, claimed the attention of the German philosopher. In 1692 there began a correspondence between the two which, with a short interruption, lasted until 1702. Both these brilliant men passionately defended their respective points of view, utilizing all their resources of knowledge and logic. But it soon became as clear as day that their two concepts were irreconcilable. To begin with, how could a Catholic, a member of the Roman Church, accept Leibniz's theories as to the very meaning of 'Church'? Leibniz, logically pursuing his arguments, rejected the oecumenical character of the Council of Trent, while Bossuet rightly claimed that the Tridentine decisions constituted the very bases of the restored Church because they were the genuine voice of Tradition. An even more profound difference between the two minds lay in their conception of faith, where there was no possible chance of agreement; here Leibniz claimed liberty of thought, while Bossuet stood for full adherence to the truth of the Church. When Leibniz broke off the correspondence in 1702 under the pretext that 'he found the peremptory tone of his correspondent discouraging', it was in fact because, as the Duke of Hanover's representative on the Aulic Council, he could not continue to discuss a reunion which must deprive him of his rights, since the duke expected to become King of England on the death of Queen Anne. The relationship had at least proved that no compromise was possible between two absolutely incompatible doctrines. It meant the end of the conciliatory discussions. A few intrepid souls continued indeed to labour the subject, but they were modest attempts with no far-reaching consequences. On the threshold of the eighteenth century it became clear that Catholic propaganda was no longer gaining any ground from the various branches of Protestantism.

Hopes that Catholicism might recover some territory in the East, in the areas of schismatic 'Orthodox' Christianity, were also dashed. More serious still, the Uniate Church was threatened. Reunion had been the means of leading back the Christians of Lithuania and the Ukraine[60] to the Catholic

fold in 1596, enabling them to reform and reorganize their Church, which was then declining. The hostility of the Orthodox, culminating in the murder of St Josaphat Kuntsewycz in 1623, continued, and the conflict broke out again between the Metropolitan Orthodox and the Uniate bishops. The reunion was honoured under the authority of the energetic Metropolitan Peter Mokyla, but the Cossack Wars continually weakened it. In 1705 Peter the Great himself caused Uniate priests to be put to the torture; others were exiled to Siberia. Worse still, Catholics of the Latin rite treated their Uniate brethren badly on account of their particular form of liturgy, the marriage of their priests and the fact that they used leavened bread for the Holy Eucharist. The nobles and the Catholic bishops excluded the Ruthenian bishops from the Polish senate. The situation had become so tense by 1714 that the Metropolitan Kiszka, assisted by the Nuncio at Warsaw, undertook to call a synod at Lemberg in an attempt to 'Latinize' the Uniate Church, but there was little hope of saving it.

The situation was nowhere very satisfactory among the Orthodox. The Patriarchate of Constantinople (which was under Turkish rule) continued to argue peevishly over the validity of the Latin form of baptism and transubstantiation as understood by Rome. In Serbia, Catholics were so badly treated that about forty thousand of them crossed over to Hungary, and the Orthodox clergy attempted to use force against those who remained. In Rumania some Catholic nobles managed with the aid of a few bishops to reconstitute a church, but it remained under threat from both the Turkish authorities and the adherents of Orthodoxy. It did not become established until about 1730. The only serious attempt made by Catholicism to penetrate the Orthodox zone was that undertaken in Russia by the Croat Knjanich and a few Jesuit missions. The pan-slavism of Peter the Great offered them little hope of success. It seems that everywhere we look we see the work of peaceful reconquest and expansion being brutally arrested; and this at the very moment when the quar-

rel of Chinese Rites was undermining the work of missionaries in Asia.[61]

13. A WASTED PAST: THE POLITICAL COUNTER-REFORMATION

The halting of the century-old dream of *political* Counter-Reformation—the attempt to reinstate Catholicism by force—was just as brutal. This attempt was, as we have seen, halted at the beginning of the century,[62] but the spirit that inspired it still survived, though of a very different quality from what it had been. In consequence, its efforts resulted only in failure.

Was it only to serve the interests of Catholicism that Louis XIV used coercion in his dealings with the Protestants,[63] ultimately revoking the Edict of Nantes? Was it not rather with the intention of pressing his principle of unification to its logical conclusion? At all events, it is plain that his severity, which drove so much excellent material from the country and caused the bloody revolt of the 'White Shirts', did not succeed, for it had to be replaced by more tolerant methods.

A comparable policy within the Empire had even worse consequences. In the hope of achieving in Hungary what it had done in Austria, and making general use of the coercive measures adopted by Cardinal Pazmany,[64] the Imperial Government destroyed the *modus vivendi* so painfully established with the Magyar Protestants. Profiting by the impetus derived from victory over the Turks[65] the Government quartered German troops in the land of St Stephen, and rebellion ensued Following the proclamation of Croatia-Zrinyi, in answer to the call of the son of Rakoczy, and more especially of Imre Tokolli, fighting began around the Danube similar to that carried on by the 'White Shirts' in France. It was savagely suppressed; the rebel bands were easily overcome by the Austrian regular army. Most of the leaders were captured, and others took refuge with the Turks. Their pastors were condemned as heretics and traitors, their temples were closed,

and the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order became governor of Pressburg. The reaction was so violent and so obviously intended to smother Hungarian nationalism as much as Protestantism that the rebellion broke out anew with even greater fury. This time Catholics and Protestants united, which resulted in a bitter struggle with cruel fighting on both sides. The Hungarians stood alone against the enormous power of the Empire, and history has recorded the courage and tenacity of their resistance. The struggle was carried on by Imre Tokolli, assisted behind the scenes by France, and even supported by a revolt of the Czech peasants. Finally, appreciating the hopelessness of his position, he appealed to Turkey as a last resort; and the Sultan replied by launching a gigantic army against Vienna. Such was the consequence of the so-called Counter-Reformation conducted in the worst possible manner. When the Turks were driven out, Buda and the Danubian fortresses recaptured and Hungary completely subdued and systematically Germanized, the unifying authoritarianism of the Hapsburgs triumphed, but not Catholicism.

In England an attempt to reinstate Catholicism was crushed even more decisively, for the outcome resulted not only in political defeat but also in the final eradication of Catholic traditions. For a time, however, it seemed that the country might return to its former loyalties. For as yet there was no real concord within the ranks of Protestantism itself,[66] a struggle went on more or less openly between Anglicanism and each of the other reformed sects with the object of imposing their respective creeds upon the country. But the one point on which all these hostile brethren were agreed was that Popery must be eliminated; not on any account were the 'Jesuits' to regain a foothold. Cromwell's Commonwealth led, in fact, to a Puritan dictatorship under which Catholics were denied every right. The restoration of the monarchy under Charles II (1660–85) in no way changed the situation, despite his own leanings towards Catholicism and pressure from his mother and sister, the two Henriettas. His Declara-

tion of Indulgence, under which priests were authorized to celebrate Mass in private houses, provoked such a furore in Parliament and had such a bad effect on public opinion that he was forced to hurry through Parliament his Test Act (1673), under which all persons holding office were required to take an oath of supremacy, recognizing His Majesty as supreme head of the Church. The king's brother, the Duke of York, a convert to Catholicism, renounced all his appointments, including the post of High Admiral of the splendid fleet he had created, in order to avoid taking an oath which he regarded as blasphemous. But even those measures proved insufficient. Hatred of Catholicism was shared by every shade of Protestantism. The Popish Plot, fabricated by the ageing Anglican minister Titus Oates, was believed without question. the Jesuits were supposed to be organizing a new Gunpowder Plot, Catholics to be awaiting the landing of French forces and Ireland to be implicated. Six Jesuits and nine other priests were hanged; two thousand Catholics were either thrown into prison or compelled to flee the country. The question of depriving the Duke of York of his right of succession was under consideration.

In the midst of this tempestuous atmosphere the Duke of York became king as James II (1685–88). The English people had such unpleasant memories of Cromwell's Commonwealth that their loyalty to James overcame their religious bigotry, and he was accepted without demur. James was courageous, upright and virtuous, but stubborn and narrow-minded. No sooner had he become king than he thought it his duty to restore Catholicism by law. He openly attended Catholic services, received Holy Communion and surrounded himself with Catholic advisers; and with such inordinate haste that Innocent XI advised prudence. Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles II, landed in Puritan Scotland, and the country rose up in response to the call of Argyle, son of a Protestant executed after the restoration of Charles Monmouth was defeated at Sedgemoor, and Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys was sent to punish the insurgents at the 'Bloody Assize'.

James II set up a court of ecclesiastical commission and prepared the way for a return to Catholicism. In 1687 he annulled the Test Act; Father Petre, S.J., was given a seat on the Council; the Archbishop of Canterbury and seven Anglican bishops were committed to the Tower. It was at this time that Dryden, a convert to Catholicism, wrote his strange poem, 'The Hind and the Panther', glorifying the Roman Church. The king considered he did a wise thing when he issued his Declaration of Indulgence, the aim of which was to link Non-conformists, Baptists, Presbyterians and even Quakers with the Catholics against the Anglicans. Staunch Protestants were suspicious of such company, and public opinion was roused when all Anglicans were gradually excluded from important official appointments. Parliament refused to approve the Declaration in favour of the king's 'innocent Catholic subjects'; a jury acquitted the seven bishops of seditious libel, and the stage was set for revolution. Protestant England had tolerated her unpopular king for three years in the hope that he would soon be succeeded by his elder daughter Mary, a Protestant, who had married the Protestant William of Orange. Their fury burst when a Catholic heir, James Edward, was born in the palace James II prepared to retreat before the growing storm[67] William landed his Huguenot army at Torbay. His standards carried the legend *Pro religione protestante*. With the flight of James II Catholicism had lost the day.

Henceforward the small band of English Catholics, numbering about a thirtieth of the population, diminished in importance. They were treated as inferior citizens and barred from posts of responsibility, they alone among the 'non-conformists' were refused religious freedom. The Declaration of Rights (1689) allowed freedom of worship to all others who recognized the schema of Christian faith as laid down in the Thirty-Nine Articles; the only bodies excluded were the Catholics, the Unitarians and the Jews. Harsh measures were taken against all Papists, and the 'crime of the Mass' was again punishable. It is doubtful whether William and Mary (1689–

1702) themselves approved of this fanaticism, but they were compelled to yield to public opinion. Anne Stuart (1702–14) —'Good Queen Anne'—second daughter of James II and wife of Prince George of Denmark, treated the lower Anglican clergy kindly, but continued to apply to Catholics the full rigour of the penal laws. The Act of Settlement passed by Parliament in 1701 excluded all Catholics from succession to the throne, and Anne, who would gladly have bequeathed her crown to her half-brother James Edward (James III), was obliged to sign the Act. She was succeeded in 1714 by her cousin of the House of Hanover, who became George I, a moderate but thorough-going Protestant. No further hope remained to the Catholic cause in the land of St Edward and St Thomas à Becket.

The Counter-Reformation in England was therefore not only a conspicuous failure, but it brought about a very strong Protestant reaction. A similar reaction was experienced elsewhere, e g. in Scandinavia. In Denmark, after Christian V's *coup d'état* of 1660, all previous anti-Catholic enactments were collected together as a code of laws and enforced (1683). Priests entering the country were liable to execution; anyone converted to popery ran the risk of banishment and confiscation of property. When the French ambassador claimed the right to build a Catholic chapel he had to undertake not to allow any Danish Papist to enter it. Furthermore, the vitality of the Catholic faith in Denmark definitely languished, despite the notable conversion of the savant Niels Stensen, who was appointed Vicar Apostolic but was forced to live in exile; despite also the secret missions financed by the Bishop of Furstenberg and organized by the Jesuits at Münster. By 1715 the Catholics of Denmark numbered no more than one in five thousand.

The position was no better in Sweden. The conversion of Queen Christina[68] had created a sensation, but none had followed her example. Her cousin and successor, Charles XI, strengthened the anti-Catholic laws, and from 1686 onwards they were precisely the same as those of Denmark. Converts

were banished and their property confiscated, and priests could enter the country only secretly. So great was the distrust of anything akin to popery that Ussadius, a venerable champion of Lutheranism, was condemned to thirty years' imprisonment for having dared to teach that works were useful towards salvation. Only in the last twenty-five years of the eighteenth century, under the philosopher King Gustavus III, was it possible for Oster, the Vicar Apostolic, to reinvigorate the unhappy Catholic Church in Sweden.[60]

In Germany the position was not much better, though legal measures seem to have been less severe in certain areas. Many German states, such as the episcopal electorates and Bavaria, remained absolutely loyal to Catholicism, as did the ecclesiastical principalities of Fulda, Munster, Ratisbon and Wurtzburg. In Hesse and the Palatine a *modus vivendi* was established between Catholics and Protestants; while in Saxony, Frederick Augustus, converted to Catholicism and elected King of Poland, came to an arrangement under which Catholics were given the right of private worship. Everywhere else, however, notably in Prussia, Protestant reaction was violent, either openly or beneath the surface. The Grand Elector Frederick William proved tolerant, but from 1688 his successor Frederick III was relentless, encouraged as he was by those French refugees who had settled in Prussia after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In any case, Frederick entertained rather extravagant ideas: he desired religious unity in his states, but his readiness to reach an agreement with Rome was dependent upon the Pope's agreeing to crown him king. When his plans were frustrated he withdrew from Catholics the right to practise their religion, and reinforced the old decrees, which resulted in persecution and the expulsion of the Jesuits. The Catholic population of all the Prussian states scarcely exceeded 3 per cent, and was definitely on the decrease.

In some parts of Europe the situation was even worse, and Catholics were severely persecuted–in the Low Countries especially, though here Catholicism put up a vigorous defence.

Since 1648[70] Catholics had been continually frustrated, and they were suspected of being pro-French. The falsity of this accusation was proved by their staunch loyalty in the struggle against Louis XIV; nevertheless they were treated as enemies of the State and forced to lead a more or less underground existence. Officials were forbidden to visit them, their votive chapels and crosses set up on the highways were demolished, and they were unable to protest. Many priests and religious were exiled, but the Church, though virtually outlawed, struggled on in grim determination. Mindful of the lessons of Rovenius, they bribed Protestant officials into allowing them to practise their faith; they educated their young, and trained their priests in Germany. About 1671 there were ten thousand Catholics in Amsterdam and eighteen 'houses of prayer'; by 1715 there were approximately three hundred thousand Catholics in the whole of Holland. The deplorable affair of the Jansenist schism in Utrecht[71] severely hampered the forward movement of Dutch Catholicism, but only for a while.

Nowhere in the whole of the West was Protestant savagery more in evidence and Catholic resistance more heroic than in Ireland. The religious and political aspects of the conflict combined to render it implacable. Since the days when Cromwell's Roundheads subjected Catholic Ireland to English discipline by means of barbarous repression, that country, though reduced almost to helplessness, had continued to strike fear into her executioners. To the Irish people loyalty to the Catholic faith and to her national consciousness were inseparable. She defended both freedoms with her blood. It was not surprising therefore that the Irish interfered in England's politics, were hostile to her Anglican kings and allied themselves with her Catholic pretenders. But this confusion of interests could result only in more harsh repression. When under Charles II tempers were roused in consequence of the consternation provoked by the 'Popish Plot' fabricated by Titus Oates, the Irish were the first to be accused of having fostered the conspiracy. Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, was sent to the gallows at

Tyburn in order to satisfy public opinion. Peace returned to the Emerald Isle during the very short reign of James II; the Irish Catholics recovered under the vicegerency of Talbot Tyrconnel—'Mad Dick'—and were allowed a measure of autonomy But the revolution of 1688 plunged them into misfortune. They rose against the Protestant monarchs William and Mary, and assisted James II to land at Kinsale with five thousand men whom Louis XIV had placed at his disposal. James was defeated at the battle of the Boyne (1690) and returned to France. The Irish fought their last desperate battles, and were forced to yield at Limerick (1690). The subsequent treaty promised them freedom to practise their religion, but William and Mary, under pressure from the Protestants, were unable to keep their word. Persecution was quickly resumed. Catholics were excluded from Parliament; they were forbidden to have priests, to carry arms or to open schools. They were literally blockaded in their island, and any man who sent his son to be educated on the Continent was forced to pay a fine of £100. They were treated as inferiors and obliged, on pain of a £60 fine, to assist at Protestant services Many were driven from their estates, which were taken over by their enemies (a total of one million acres were thus confiscated), and they were the victims of any extortions that the English cared to impose upon them. Terror reigned throughout the country; as cruel as, if not worse than, that experienced by the French Protestants after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. But their resistance did not weaken. Patrick Donnelly, assisted by seventy-seven priests, twenty-two religious and nine nuns, journeyed from place to place throughout the country. Mass was celebrated at secret meeting places upon an altar-stone, the *corrig-an-aifrion*. Donnelly was eventually captured, and most of the bishops had to flee to France and Portugal. Many, however, with the aid of French bishops, opened seminaries on the Continent for training young priests who would continue the struggle. The eclipse of the Catholic Church in the land of St Patrick was

anarchy, the unhappy country could only await the edicts of Peter the Great, communicated to her through the Russian ambassador. The tragedy of partition already loomed on the horizon.

It was indeed a far cry from the time when the Catholic world, led by the newly born Tridentine Church, seemed on the point of overcoming her adversaries; the days of the White Mountain and the political 'Counter-Reformation' seemed very far away. The spirit of reform, however, the same spirit that had made possible the victory at Lepanto, still survived, and it found expression in the sphere in which it had met with its greatest success. Christendom, if we may still use the word, was threatened not only by internal dissension; another and a very old peril had just raised its head in the East—the Turkish threat. An offensive had been preparing since 1656, when the Albanian Koprili, Grand Vizir of Mohammed V, took control of the Ottoman Empire. In 1663 it was unleashed against the Danubian territories. Hungary, the bastion of the Cross, was the victim of brutal anti-Protestant measures devised by the emperors, and many Hungarians had thrown in their lot with the Turks. Faced with this danger, the Papacy assumed its ancient role and called for a crusade. In 1664, responding to an appeal by Alexander VII, an international army under the command of the Italian Montecucculi halted a Turco-Tartar army 200,000 strong in the neighbourhood of the St Gothard monastery on the Raab, where a contingent sent by Louis XIV and including the flower of the French nobility fought with great distinction. But the threat of the Crescent was not thereby repelled, because the Emperor Leopold was in too great a hurry to sign peace through fear of his Hungarian subjects, and also because Hungary had been ravaged by war for many years. The Turks then launched a new attack, this time against Crete, a dependency of Venice. Despite Clement IX's earnest appeals and the help sent by Louis XIV, Candia was compelled to capitulate (1669). A second Turkish assault upon the Danube was made in support of the Hungarian rebel Tokolli,

who had asked for their help. A complete rout followed. Two hundred and fifty thousand soldiers of ten nations flung themselves upon Vienna and its fifty thousand inhabitants, and the dawn of the year 1683 seemed to herald the end.

But once again the Pope acted. Innocent XI begged all Christian states to abandon their internecine quarrels and unite against the advance of Islam; Louis XIV alone of the great Catholic princes of the West remained deaf to his entreaties. In Vienna labourers, middle-class citizens and students, inspired by the eloquence of a Capuchin, Marco d'Aviano, fought side by side at the barricades under the command of Roger von Stahremberg. Meanwhile the counter-offensive was under way. As the sixty thousand imperial troops commanded by Charles de Lorraine were of poor quality, the Pope sent financial assistance together with an army of twenty-five thousand crack troops led by John Sobieski, King of Poland; it was their heroic charge against the slopes of Kahlenberg that saved Vienna. The Turkish retreat began. The fact that the Polish forces had saved the day humiliated the emperor; he showed his resentment towards Sobieski and declined even to thank him for his support. The emperor reorganized his army, putting excellent generals in command, and once again took the offensive. One after another the fortified towns of Hungary were captured, and in 1686 the fortress of Buda, 'the shield of Islam', which had been held by the infidel for a hundred and forty-five years, was reoccupied. A Holy Christian League organized by Rome, and joined by the czar despite his contempt for it, carried the war into the Ottoman Empire. It invaded Zante, Cephalonia and Leucade, and captured Corinth. When the League bombarded Athens, the Parthenon, used by the Turks to store gunpowder, was blown up and suffered irreparable damage (1697) Prince Eugene and the Venetian Morosini won great glory. The Sultan was forced to sign the peace of Carlovitz, under which he abandoned Transylvania and the whole Hungarian plain. All that remained to him was Temesvar, from which he was later driven by Christian forces at the request

who had asked for their help A complete rout followed. Two hundred and fifty thousand soldiers of ten nations flung themselves upon Vienna and its fifty thousand inhabitants, and the dawn of the year 1683 seemed to herald the end.

But once again the Pope acted. Innocent XI begged all Christian states to abandon their internecine quarrels and unite against the advance of Islam; Louis XIV alone of the great Catholic princes of the West remained deaf to his entreaties. In Vienna labourers, middle-class citizens and students, inspired by the eloquence of a Capuchin, Marco d'Aviano, fought side by side at the barricades under the command of Roger von Stahremberg. Meanwhile the counter-offensive was under way. As the sixty thousand imperial troops commanded by Charles de Lorraine were of poor quality, the Pope sent financial assistance together with an army of twenty-five thousand crack troops led by John Sobieski, King of Poland; it was their heroic charge against the slopes of Kahlenberg that saved Vienna. The Turkish retreat began. The fact that the Polish forces had saved the day humiliated the emperor; he showed his resentment towards Sobieski and declined even to thank him for his support. The emperor reorganized his army, putting excellent generals in command, and once again took the offensive. One after another the fortified towns of Hungary were captured, and in 1686 the fortress of Buda, 'the shield of Islam', which had been held by the infidel for a hundred and forty-five years, was reoccupied. A Holy Christian League organized by Rome, and joined by the czar despite his contempt for it, carried the war into the Ottoman Empire. It invaded Zante, Cephalonia and Leucade, and captured Corinth. When the League bombarded Athens, the Parthenon, used by the Turks to store gunpowder, was blown up and suffered irreparable damage (1697). Prince Eugene and the Venetian Morosini won great glory. The Sultan was forced to sign the peace of Carlovitz, under which he abandoned Transylvania and the whole Hungarian plain. All that remained to him was Temesvar, from which he was later driven by Christian forces at the request

of Clement XI. The peace of Passarovitz (1718) confirmed the overthrow of Turkish power in the Balkans. This was the first step in a long series of events that was to continue into the twentieth century, and eventually brought about the downfall of the Sublime Porte. It is doubtful, however, whether we may regard this achievement as a Christian victory, a crusade. Christian principles played very little part in the emperor's Hungarian policy or in the Venetian campaign of pillage which destroyed so many monuments of ancient art. The spirit of Lepanto was no more. The defence of religious interests was no longer at issue, there were other interests to defend.

14. THE TROUBLES OF THE PAPACY

What was the position of the Papacy during this momentous period in which the Church, while apparently enjoying a glorious present, had cause to be uneasy about the uncertainties of the future? We have seen with what an admirable sense of duty she conducted the struggle against the Turks. The victory of St Gothard could never have been achieved without Alexander VII; the victory of 1683 would not have been so outstanding without the enormous amount of money collected by Innocent XI to finance Sobieski's expedition; and behind the military achievements of Prince Eugene in 1715 and the Christian counter-attack in Morea lay the diplomatic skill of the wise and energetic Clement XI. But did all this mean that the Papacy had regained its authority, that it was in a position to resume its former role as leader of the Christian world?

It is certainly true that the Church was no longer governed by unworthy popes. The seven pontiffs of the classical age may have been very different from each other (Alexander VIII and Innocent XII were far from agreement on all points); but all were worthy of esteem and two of admiration. None could certainly be compared with Julius II or a Borgia.

The strong and courageous Alexander VII died in 1667 after a troubled pontificate,[73] sad at heart because of the humiliations inflicted upon him by Louis XIV,[74] and immersed towards the end of his life in a gloomy piety. He left behind him the memory of indomitable energy, a good life and an upright character. Clement IX (1667–69), who occupied the Chair of St Peter for less than three years, was a shrewd and wise Tuscan, hard on himself and kind to others; *aliis, non sibi clemens* was his motto. He strove with remarkable determination to fulfil his duties, and was the very embodiment of charity, a spirit of conciliation[75] and courage —as on the occasion when a decision had to be made to snatch Crete from the clutches of the Turks. The aged Cardinal Altieri was next elected Pope after the interregnum of five months. The election was marred by disputes arising from the fact that the new Pope was eighty-four years old, and his reign seemed certain to be ineffectual. He wept bitterly before agreeing to accept the heavy responsibility, but after his coronation as Clement X (1670–76) he proved to be anything but incompetent. He worked extremely hard on behalf of the Missions, resisted Louis XIV in the affair of the *régale*, and helped Poland with subsidies to maintain the struggle against the Turks. Deep down in that soul inspired by the spirit of reform dwelt a degree of holiness badly needed by the age.

With Innocent XI (1676–89) sanctity returned to the Chair of St Peter, such as had not been seen since Pius V a century earlier. The Christian people had acclaimed him as a saint long before his beatification by the Church in 1956. His name was Benedict Odescalchi; his family came from the shores of Lake Como in the north of Italy. He was a noble figure with all the solid qualities characteristic of men from that part of the country: tenacity, courage in the performance of duty, frugality and a love of discipline. According to his portraits he was slim and rather delicate looking, with a long nose and face, elongated still further by a goatee beard; there is a look of thoughtfulness on his face, anxiety

even. His biographers relate that he experienced such emotion when he said Mass (which he considered himself too unworthy to do every day) that he often shed tears at the altar. He was a model of piety, austerity and simplicity of life—the perfect example of an utterly dedicated priest who has renounced all things. But his personal austerity was accompanied by infinite tactfulness towards others. As Papal Legate at Ferrara, and later Bishop of Novara, he was already well known for his unbounded generosity, his visits to the sick, the criminals and the destitute. Innocent X who, despite his weakness, was a good judge of men, gave him the cardinal's hat and entrusted him with tasks at the Vatican that were subsequently included in the duties of the Secretariat of State—an appointment that struck fear into the hearts of many of the Roman nobility, the ladies of fashion, and even the superiors of religious congregations.

Everyone had good reason to beware, for Innocent XI attacked abuses of every description from the moment he was elected Pope. He abolished sinecures, and none of his nephews received advancement. The regular clergy were strictly controlled and led back to the discipline of their Rule, especially the Dominicans and Cistercians. Before appointing a bishop the Holy Pontiff made a very thorough personal investigation into the candidate's spiritual qualities and the extent of his learning. Parish priests were called upon to preach, to be 'simple and pious', to teach the Catechism, reside within their parishes and conduct themselves properly. The behaviour of Roman ladies of fashion was censured; many of them objected to the Holy Father's regulations concerning dress as their husbands did to his decrees on the subject of gambling. Some have accused Innocent XI of Jansenism, because of the severity with which he defended morals. Though he attacked the Quietism of Molinos[70] and gave his whole-hearted support to Father Tirso Gonzalez, the great adversary of all Laxists and Probabilists, he showed no sympathy whatever with the doctrines of Jansenius, it was moreover during his pontificate that Port-Royal disintegrated.

Benedict Odescalchi was no great theologian, but he was a defender of the faith.

He was an equally forceful defender of the rights of the Church and the Catholic world. It is touching and even paradoxical that a man physically frail and whose life was so deeply spiritual could fight so fiercely. He was the one Pope who stood firm against the might of Louis XIV, even to the point of excommunicating the French ambassador Lavardin; rather than yield, he preferred to see his Avignon estates seized by French troops.[77] By sheer energy and diplomacy he succeeded in forming the coalition against the Turks, and was therefore the real victor of Kahlenberg. All these courageous achievements were in harmony with the charity that he evinced to the end of his life. When he was compelled for political reasons to refrain from condemning the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he approached James II of England on behalf of the unhappy Huguenot refugees. Even at the height of conflict with the Turks he found time to interest himself in a field hospital which he had sent with Sobieski's forces and which may be considered the forerunner of Catholic Red Cross work. When Innocent XI died on 12th August 1689 the whole of Rome flocked to watch the funeral *cortège* as it proceeded from the Quirinal to the Vatican. With difficulty the hearse pushed its way through the eager crowd striving to touch the coffin with a piece of material or some other object to be kept as a relic. No Pope of that period had such a deep and lasting influence upon events.

The brief reign of Alexander VIII (1689–91) was very different. Not that this shrewd Venetian was unimportant; he was proficient in canon law, very well acquainted with ecclesiastical administration, and had acted as adviser to seven Roman congregations. His foreign policy too was praiseworthy, for he worked to restore peace with France. But while Rome rejoiced at the revival of those ostentatious and licentious festivals which Innocent had forbidden, she was angered by the new Pope's weakness for all his relations. The nepotism

of the Ottoboni was soon as proverbial as had been that of the Barberini, but it did not last for long.

When Cardinal Pignatelli became Innocent XII (1691–1700) it was not without good reason that he took the name of his saintly predecessor. Beneath a gracious exterior he retained the severity of an inquisitor, which office he had previously held. His harsh measures against nepotism created a deep impression, and he made it clear to priests, bishops and even to cardinals that they must preach by example. He attacked Quietists and Jansenists alike, but he also knew how to care for the poor and the orphans of Rome with the tenderness of a father. His death in the middle of the Jubilee Year came as a surprise, and saddened the Catholic world.

He was followed by the first Pope of the eighteenth century, Clement XI (1700–21), who proved a worthy successor. He was an eminent jurist and a former governor of the papal cities of Urbino and Rieti; he had such an impressive personality that he was unanimously elected by the Conclave despite the fact that, though a cardinal for ten years, he had been ordained and had said his first Mass only two days before the Conclave. Immersed in countless political problems, he maintained against the emperor and the Duke of Savoy the same firm attitude he had adopted towards Louis XIV. It came quite naturally to that kindly and erudite Umbrian, the friend of art and literature, to defend the Church against Christian princes as against the Turks. he was likewise the champion of morals, of the spirit of reform and of the true faith. The Bull *Unigenitus* was his work.

This impressive series of popes has earned much unfair criticism from French historians, who have resented the Holy See's opposition to the policies of Louis XIV. It is therefore imperative to emphasize their qualities, for they were imbued with the true Christian spirit. In those days not every aspect of Roman life was commendable, whether we consider the papal *entourage*, the religious Orders or even the Sacred College. The secret dispatches of the nuncios and the Secretariat of State suggest that there was some truth in the

bantering satire of Saint-Simon. Fabio Chigi, Pope Alexander VII, made no secret of his opinion of his namesake, Cardinal Sigismund Chigi, whose gay parties and quail-shooting set tongues wagging. Neither had Ginetti, Mellini or Bassadonna much regard for their purple So many rumours circulated concerning Cardinal Carpegna that Innocent XI instructed another cardinal, the virtuous Casanetta, to hold an inquiry. These imperfections, so close to the Apostolic See, saddened and disturbed the saintly Pope, and Cardinal d'Estrées records that he heard him deplore them. When a cardinal died the Pope deliberately refrained from appointing a successor until twenty-four vacancies remained in the Sacred College; he thus reduced the number of cardinals to fifty in the hope that he might improve their quality. When Cardinal Maidalchini had himself ordained priest the Pope forbade him to celebrate Mass! But the existence of a few black sheep should not lead us to exaggerate the evil; many of the clergy were excellent and worthy of the greatest praise. Blessed Gregory Barbarigo was a model of zeal, charity, piety and learning Cardinal Bonvisi, Nuncio in Vienna, the Spanish Cardinal Saenz d'Aguire and the Austrian Cardinal Leopold von Kollonitz were no less virtuous. After Innocent XI an intense effort was made, especially by Innocent XII and Clement XI, to refine the Sacred College and combat every abuse.

The struggle against nepotism, which had been a veritable scourge of the Holy See during the preceding epoch, is typical of the efforts made in this direction. If we exclude Alexander VIII, not one of the pontiffs we have just mentioned permitted himself to yield to this very natural but disastrous tendency. Urged by Bonvisi, Kollonitz, Saenz and Albani (who became Clement XI), Innocent XII decided to strike an effective blow against these long-established abuses, and in 1692 published his Bull *Romanum decet Pontificem,* under which the Canons forbidding bishops to enrich their near relations with ecclesiastical property were applied also to the Holy See. 'Popes may appoint one nephew only as cardinal. Under

no pretext whatever may they give money, property or responsible posts to their relatives. If any of their relatives are without means, Popes may assist them as they would help any poor people. If a relative of the Pope becomes cardinal as a result of personal merit, his emoluments shall not exceed 12,000 Roman crowns.' At the same time this energetic Pope abolished all appointments, whether civil, military or ecclesiastical, that were traditionally granted as sinecures to the relatives or agnates of the reigning Pope.

These and similar gestures had a far-reaching effect It is interesting to note that in the great doctrinal disputes of the period (Jansenism and Quietism) Rome always had the last word in the long run. Even Louis XIV had willy-nilly to reach an understanding with the Pope in order to settle the question of Port-Royal. In the Church of the classical age everything pertaining to the permanence of the spirit of reform depended upon the popes and had their support. This was just as true of Rancé and his Trappists as it was of Father Cloche and his Dominicans We shall see[78] evidence of the personal intervention of the popes, often a deciding factor, in overseas missionary work It is also interesting to note the number of saints canonized and beatified by those pontiffs, especially by Clement X and Alexander VIII. Among those canonized were men who reflected the priestly ideal, such as Francis Borgia, Laurence Giustiniani and Pius V; such reformers as Cajetan of Tiene, such great missionary figures as Louis Bertrand, Francis Solanus, Rose of Lima, souls utterly dedicated to God, such as John of the Cross, Peter of Alcàntara, Mary Magdalen dei Pazzi. There existed an undoubted relation between the choice and the purpose.

It stands to reason that this determined effort to give back to the Papacy its position of authority increased its prestige. Even when, politically speaking, things were going badly for the Pope, Louis XIV was careful to show him great personal respect The respectful manner in which public figures spoke of or to the popes during that period was not in the least comparable with their former treatment, e.g. at the beginning

of the sixteenth century. The deference with which the sacred office of Pope was surrounded was plain for all to see; there existed a real distinction between the man and his position. Everyone knew that papal elections were the occasions of all kinds of political schemes, and that pressure was brought to bear on behalf of various interests. It was often said of a cardinal that he was 'of the crown', meaning that in the Sacred College he was less a man of the Church than the representative of some monarch. In this connection Mme de Sévigné wrote: 'You have only to read history to appreciate that a religion which owes its origin and its survival to a permanent miracle cannot be regarded as a figment of man's imagination. Believe me, despite all that goes on in Conclave, it is always the Holy Ghost who chooses the Pope.' The crowds who flocked to Rome from the four corners of the earth during the great Jubilee Year of 1700 did not, of course, concern themselves with such questions; at other periods in history, less propitious as far as the Holy See was concerned, such manifestations always drew the crowds, for the glory of Rome and of the Vicar of Christ has always been resplendent. It is none the less important that thinking Catholics should be aware of the facts.

The idea of Papal Infallibility began to make positive progress during the seventeenth century, although the age appeared to have surrendered to victorious caesaropapism. It is true that the old conciliar theories were still occasionally advanced, even by Bossuet; but no one took them seriously any longer. Papal Infallibility had not yet been defined as a dogma, and still had numerous enemies, but the fact seemed to be gradually forcing itself upon men's minds. A great impression was created by St Robert Bellarmine's comment in his splendid treatise on the Roman Pontiff, referring to Christ's words in the Gospel of St Luke: 'But I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not: and thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren' (Luke xxii. 32). In fact, no one questioned the sovereign right of the Vicar of Christ to make laws On that point even Jansenius entertained no doubt.

During the period 1703–5, when the French bishops endeavoured to oppose a procedure that tended to reserve to the Holy See alone full and exclusive jurisdiction in doctrinal matters, Clement XI retorted bluntly: 'Who made you judges? The bishops hold their prerogatives from the Roman Pontiff alone. The Pope has no use for their opinions; he calls upon them to obey.' Public opinion approved language of this kind. The doctrine of Infallibility was demonstrated more and more ably by the works of Viva, Billuart, Kilber and Orsi in the *Biblioteca Pontificia Maxima*, and later on in the treatises of Petitdidier and Fénelon; but its elements were still not precisely defined. Fénelon saw Infallibility as the privilege of the Roman Church, Billuart as the personal prerogative of the Sovereign Pontiff, but, in any case, the idea was on the way to becoming common doctrine.

However, this lovely picture contained dark shadows. Here, as in every other field, the Great Century, especially the classical period, was remarkable less as an era of perfect stability than as a time of grave crisis during which dogged and courageous attempts were made to maintain the ever-threatened order of things. The Papacy was very well aware that formidable forces were ranged against it: absolutism, Erastianism and Gallicanism.[70] All three endeavoured to impose the notion of complete independence of the monarchs in relation to the spiritual power, and even to justify the ascendancy of the State over the religious sphere of influence. It is to the glory of Innocent XI that he boldly threw the whole weight of papal authority against the Great King's caesaropapism which had been so cautiously handled by his predecessors. It was the Holy See that finally won the battle against Gallicanism, although Louis XIV took cunning revenge by publishing his Fifty Articles. The same problem arose in all other Catholic countries The Pope protested to the emperor concerning the handling of Peter's Pence. In Spain there was ceaseless argument about levies and taxation; indeed the dispute became so acrimonious under Philip V that diplomatic relations between Madrid and Rome were broken off. Similar

problems arose in Bavaria and Poland. But it was not simply a question of money. As in France, where the affair of the *régale* precipitated the Gallican conflict, the underlying issues were everywhere much more serious than a mere matter of finance.

In the sphere of international politics the Papacy was not only attacked by hostile forces, she was nearly defeated She never recovered her position as arbiter of the Christian world. The fact that the Pope's representatives were excluded from the negotiations at Osnabruck and Munster, where the treaties of Westphalia were agreed upon with complete contempt for the interests of the Church, confirmed the political eclipse of the Papacy, in other words, all hope of securing the triumph of a Christian political morality was killed Not that the Popes did not seek to resume their ancient role. Alexander VII and Clement IX endeavoured to unite Catholic states against the Turks, Clement X worked for peace between Genoa and Savoy, and offered to mediate between Paris and Vienna; Innocent XI devoted himself body and soul to the reconciliation of nations, and Clement XI embarked upon similar negotiations. On the whole all these efforts proved unsuccessful, the secularization of international policy continued. In vain, for example, did Innocent XI take it upon himself to guide the conscience of Louis XIV, to remind him, often in moving terms, of his duties as a Christian.[80] Henceforward decisions were reached on all important political matters without consulting the Holy See or taking any account of the higher interests of Christendom On the threshold of the eighteenth century states even disposed of the Pope's fiefs, under the treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt, without the least consideration for his sovereign rights. The political eclipse of the Holy See reached a climax with the criminal partition of Poland while the popes looked on helplessly.

A similar eclipse took place in the field of ideas. The novel trends invading minds and consciences[81] no longer took account of papal views—a fact which emphasizes yet another weakness on the part of Rome towards the end of the seven-

teenth century. Did they appreciate the gravity of the crisis and the importance of the issues at stake? Did they lack the ability or intelligence to anticipate the future? Their usual approach to subversive doctrines was to counter by condemning them. But was it sufficient to place on the Index the *Provinciales*, the *Discours de la méthode* (subject to amendment), Fontenelle's *Histoires des oracles*, Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, and even the biblical works of Richard Simon? Twentieth-century Popes, including Pius XI and Pius XII, have realized that mere condemnation of modern errors is not sufficient in the war against them; the world and its problems need to be 'rethought' from genuinely Catholic viewpoints. This the popes of the seventeenth century scarcely understood, and their silence was disturbing.

The popes of the classical age, infinitely more praiseworthy than their immediate predecessors, do appear to have made a valiant attempt to lessen the effects of the contemporary crisis, but we cannot refrain from thinking that they might have achieved more in the circumstances. The eighteenth century could not deny the temporary eclipse of papal power.

15. CHRISTIAN ART DURING THE GREAT REIGN

Was it coincidental that the classical age corresponded with a lowering of vitality in religious art?[82] From 1670 to 1680 the fact was obvious. Borromini died in 1667, Bernini in 1680, and during the year 1682–83 Louis XIV became established in Versailles. The climate had changed. Clement X erected the two fountains in the piazza of St Peter's and planned the Ponte Sant' Angelo. Clement XI encouraged tapestry and mosaic, thus enabling Rome to compete with the schools of Venice and Ravenna. Generally speaking, however, the popes were occupied with cares of a different nature, and were no longer deeply interested in art. Even in France, at that time resplendent as the home of all the arts, very few works can be considered distinctively Christian. Churches already in course of construction were completed,

among them Saint-Sulpice, whose architect, Le Vau, who died in 1670, had been able to finish only the choir, the transept and a small portion of the nave. But very little new work was commenced. The masterpieces of religious architecture during the Great Reign were the dome of the Invalides and the Chapel of Versailles, both of which tended to the glory of the king as much as to the glory of God. The vast work undertaken at Saint-Denis under the direction of Robert de Cotte towards the end of the reign was destined to receive the body of the all-powerful monarch himself.

These facts do not by any means imply that the artists of this period were less imbued with faith than their forbears. The solid sense of Christianity that we have seen so firmly rooted in the souls of other men during the Great Century was just as much alive and exacting among painters and sculptors Le Brun, Puget and Girardon each devoted part of his fortune to the building of a chapel in his favourite church; the first at Nicolas-du-Chardonnet, the second at Saint-Madeleine de Marseille, the third at Saint-Landry in Paris Jacques Courtois, nicknamed 'the Raphael of Battles', was among the famous converts of the day, and he became a Jesuit. Even Coysevox and Watteau, who left to posterity the pagan grace of 'Vénus â la coquille', 'Aphrodite accroupie' and 'Embarquements pour Cythère', were none the less sincere Christians who seemed in no way to suffer from the distinction between their profession and their spiritual life. 'Rigaud's last painting,' observes Langevin, 'when he was rich in years and blessed by fortune, is one of the only two religious pictures we have from his brush; I refer to his "Presentation in the Temple", which re-echoes so clearly the artist's *nunc dimittis.*'

The fact that Christian art did not occupy the eminent place it had held formerly did not point to a diminution of faith, but rather to a change of attitude on the part of society towards art. Society was invited less frequently to praise God, because it was expected to exalt man, especially through the apotheosis of kings. The amount of money devoted to the building of churches during the reign of Louis XIV cannot

be compared with the sum spent on Versailles. The vast hall of the Great King's palace, in which he received the homage of his loyal subjects, was perhaps the true sanctuary rather than the chapel. This trend is not noticeable in France alone; in Prussia, Portugal, Austria and Poland princes followed the example of Versailles It has been estimated that thirty thousand sumptuous town and country houses were built throughout Europe between 1660 and 1715. Secularization was therefore evident in art as in all other fields. Towards the end of the reign it developed into a process of sensualization confirming that final breach with faith, as we shall see when dealing with the eighteenth century. It may be said therefore that immediately on the death of Louis XIV the sails were set, as in Watteau's picture, in the direction of Cythera.

But Christian art did not cease to exist. When the vast assets of states and the capital of wealthy patrons, so essential to the development of architecture, were diverted from the building of churches,[83] religious art turned towards painting and sculpture to adorn existing churches or to decorate private chapels Pierre Puget (1622–97), the genius who carved 'Milo of Croton', also sculptured the wonderful 'Stoning of St Stephen' at Aix and the moving 'Magdalen's Communion'. Girardon (1628–1715), on the recommendation of Le Brun, dedicated to the memory of Richelieu the sensitive mausoleum in the chapel of the Sorbonne. Coysevox (1640–1720) compared very favourably with him as the sculptor of Mazarin's tomb, but excelled him in his 'Descent from the Cross' in the chancel of Notre-Dame at Paris. Nicolas Courtois (1656–1719) commemorated in marble the vow made by Louis XIII. Finally Sebastien Slodtz (1655–1726) was responsible for the statue of Faith, a little-known masterpiece in the chapel of the palace at Versailles.

During that period painting was more fashionable than sculpture The taste spread both from Flanders and from Italy, and churches everywhere teemed with paintings. They covered walls, overcrowded chapels, and attained enormous

dimensions. Vicarages, cathedral chapters, confraternities, the residences of nobles and wealthy citizens—all wanted paintings At the church of Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois the pictures were changed throughout the year according to the feasts! The guild of goldsmiths and silversmiths at Paris ordered every year a gift for Our Lady, and it usually took the form of a huge painting. This *genre* produced its own specialists; among them were Philippe de Chennevières, who painted a large number of such pictures, and Sacquespée, who was seven times prize-winner of the 'Palinods de Puy de l'Immaculée Conception.' But the masters who won fame in profane art had Christian pictures also to their credit: Le Brun (1619–90), his 'Triumph of the Virgin', 'Martyrdom of St Stephen' and 'Elevation of the Cross', Mignard (1610–95), a friend of Molière, his graceful 'Virgin with Grape', which hangs in the Louvre, and among many other works, his amazing 'Baptism of Christ' in the church of Saint-Jean. There were also the two Coypels (father and son), de la Fosse and Jouvenet (a student of Rubens and the Carracci), all less famous but far from inconsiderable We have already referred to Rigaud, but we might also mention Largillière's 'Offering of St Genevieve'. It must not be forgotten that all these artists took their religious paintings seriously. Lomazzo's book, *The Temple of Painting*, read at that time in a French translation, warned painters that before beginning to portray a Christian subject they should ascertain from theologians 'how to represent God, the angels, the soul, the devil, the saints and heaven; their appearance, colours according to their functions, and, generally speaking, any pious stories attached to them'. And no one failed to follow the injunction. Le Brun based his work on these principles when he attempted to express the theology of his master M. Olier.

Though fewer churches were built in the classical age, the period remained fertile in religious art, thanks to painting and sculpture; not only, of course, in France, but in every great Catholic country. To place all this work under one heading and label it 'classical art' is hardly satisfactory. It

seems to flow from two great sources. Baroque on the one hand had its hour of glory during the preceding period, and continued along its course. It produced no more masters of Bernini's eminence, but a multitude of talented votaries. From the Tyrol to Sicily, from Portugal to Bohemia, and even as far as Latin America, hundreds of churches and chapels were still being built and decorated in that style. Swept along by its strange genius, Baroque became more and more luxuriant, more complicated and over-elaborate, perhaps even wanton and artificial. Rocaille and Rococo began to make their appearance, and the form retained very little Christian inspiration.

The other trend was altogether different. A reaction set in against the excesses of Baroque, and an attempt was made to subject art to rules and standards, to logic and a more ordered taste. No more church façades resembling drapery lashed by the wind, no more naves overladen with ornamentation From the models of antiquity artists selected the austerity of their colonnades and their harsh equilibrium. Henceforward the taste was for façades of orderly appearance, whose beauty emanated from the strictly mathematical harmony of their parts, naves that were spacious, cold and naked, whose glory proceeded from the quality of the material, depending no longer upon the lavishness of their decoration. Such a conception of art corresponded to a very formal religious expression linked with an all-powerful monarchical system the religion of such a man as Bossuet.

This opposition between two trends of Baroque was purely theoretical, it had no foundation in fact A great deal of Baroque survived even in the great classical art of the age of Louis XIV; it was apparent in the component members of architectural types. Were the colonnade and the dome borrowed from antiquity or from Baroque? Was not the influence of the 'Jesuit churches' and Bernini's colonnade considerable? But decoration owes more to Baroque than one usually cares to admit This applied to altar-pieces, which, as we have seen, were so ornate and so often exhibited the influence of

the Carracci and Rubens Baroque also were those characteristically 'classical' sculptures, in which marble was shaped in a manner to suggest the pliability of cloth. Baroque was the reredos, which in so many churches rose up behind an equally Baroque and lavishly decorated altar. The arrangement of sumptuous funerals was similarly affected. When illustrious personages were to be buried the nave was hung with voluminous black draperies ornamented with braid and silver tears, accompanied by symbolical figures, torches and ornamental chandeliers. In some way the sense of the grandiose, the ostentatious and the majestic visible in classical art was not inconsistent with Baroque tradition, but was rather a direct continuation of it.

Briefly, we might almost say that Christian art in the Great Century was 'classical' as to its exterior structure, but retained much that was Baroque in its interior arrangement. It is astonishing that this blend did not result in lack of harmony, but the artists of those days, thanks to good taste and an innate sense of proportion, apparently knew how to harmonize elements that were naturally opposed. But did not the spiritual life of that time inherit the lessons of the Council of Trent and the French School? Is it not possible to feel the tension between opposing tendencies? Not only did Baroque and the Classic coexist, but the faith of Rancé and Bourdaloue coexisted with that of Bossuet and Fénelon, because the religion of that day was vigorous.

The two aspects of classical religious art may be considered in what are perhaps the only two French monuments dating from the reign of Louis XIV which achieved fulness of expression Saint-Louis des Invalides and the chapel of Versailles. The value of the first lies in its purity of architectural line, the perfect balance in the colonnades of the façade, the majestic thrust of the dome set so firmly upon its drum. It is the Christian masterpiece of Mansart (1598–1666), wherein he displayed the 'classical' in the most formal sense of the term. In style Mansart stands out as the heir of antiquity; indeed this architect, who must have read Des-

cartes, brought antiquity back to life. The beauty of the chapel of Versailles lies in its interior decoration, so rich in detail, so graceful and of such remarkable freedom of touch; austere restraint is certainly not its overriding quality. Both these works are typical of France under Louis XIV, and are in keeping with the religion of the Most Christian King and his age[84]

Music was equally wedded to the glory of the Great King.[85] One cannot imagine the festivities of Versailles without the accompaniment of orchestras scattered about the gardens, and human voices mingling with the *arpeggio* of the fountains. The reign of Louis XIV was the period when opera, which had recently known such rapid development in Italy, took France by storm; it was the age when the instrumental concert that came to the fore about 1660 became rooted in the life of the nation. But there was clearly nothing specifically Christian about that.

Religious music was not, however, omitted from society's infatuation with musical expression. Every great master of the day included sacred music in his compositions. Even Jean-Baptiste Lulli (1632–87), a free-thinker from Florence (and probably an atheist), wrote a *De Profundis*, a *Miserere* and a number of motets, apart from his successful operas. Among other composers of motets and similar works of Christian inspiration were J.-B. Moreau, the author of the two choral works *Esther* and *Athalie*, Clérambault, Couperin le Grand (1668–1733) and Rameau (1683–1733), most of whose compositions were adjuncts of secular entertainment during the Regency and the reign of Louis XV. Moreover, the king himself was interested in music The standard of performance at the chapel of Versailles, in which Du Mont and Lalande won fame, was extremely high The organs at Versailles, the Invalides and in the more important provincial cathedrals were first-class instruments. Sung Masses with organ and orchestra achieved beauty that still has power to move us, those of Du Mont and Couperin le Grand have a worthy companion in Lalande's *Office of Tenebrae*. Motets

were likewise enormously popular. Lulli wrote twenty-three, which, though they lack feeling, reveal an occasional upsurge of fervour and magnificence. On the death of Lalande, Louis XV commanded that his forty motets be published in collected form Apart from the formal type of music, in which Lully (and after him Lalande) was a sort of dictator, there were some ingenious Psalms by André Campra. Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1634–1704) drew on sacred history for subjects from which his strange genius produced such masterpieces as *The Prodigal Son* and *St Peter's Denial*.[86]

In Italy, too, profane music began to develop rapidly. Every little court had its theatrical company for the purpose of presenting opera. Venice outshone them all; but there also religious music benefited from the vogue. Operatic orchestras played at High Mass; the Sistine Chapel was celebrated on that account as well as for its *castrati*. The fashionable oratorio and motet continued to flourish side by side with Masses, of which Alessandro Scarlatti wrote no fewer than twenty. The oratorio was the favourite form of Carissimi, and of the venturesome Stradella, whose style was elegant, lucid and precise. Immensely successful was the cantata, in which solo and choral vocals alternated, popular too was the recitative, invented by Alessandro Grandi in 1620, shortly before his untimely death.

The same forms were adopted in Germany. Hitherto the German-speaking world had been relatively unproductive in other spheres of art; but now, under some mysterious influence, Germany revealed herself as the land of music, and above all of religious music She came into her own in the biblical atmosphere of Protestantism, and ultimately produced such illustrious men as Bach and the exuberant George Frederick Handel.

16. THE DAWN OF A NEW CENTURY

The period known as the classical age could not last for ever, and, as in the case of all great eras, it closed at a time

when society appeared to have attained a state of fulness and stability. It is not man's destiny to achieve a permanent synthesis of passions and principles, interests and ideals. The century of Pericles was doomed to pass; so was that of Augustus, and the century of Louis XIV was no more eternal. In every field classicism reveals a courageous and determined attempt to impose order upon the forces of destruction which cruelly tormented the age. For a short time the attempt succeeded, an unhoped-for harmony was achieved. The political régime became an integral part of spiritual aspirations, and the social element endeavoured to identify itself with the religious ideal. But that stability, splendid though it was, was condemned to impermanence, for it depended upon circumstances and the presiding genius of a few men. Time would challenge its constancy.

Thus the end of the reign of Louis XIV marked a turning-point. After the melancholy events and the pressure of the preceding ten years a reaction was inevitable. It occurred during the Regency and the reign of Louis XV, and was as much a moral and intellectual reaction as it was political. Indeed, premonitory signs might have been detected almost throughout the reign, certainly from 1680 onwards, when the principle of kingship by divine right began to be questioned at the very height of its triumph, and when the coalition of European states threatened the ascendancy of Louis XIV. At the time of the despot's death thirty-five years later the threats had become more alarming, and the menace of disintegration loomed on all sides.

By a strange coincidence, just as a change of political climate occurred in the entire West at the very moment when Louis XIV assumed personal control of affairs, so did his death seem to be irresistibly significant; for the seventeenth century died with him. In every sphere and from every point of view the eighteenth century was clearly destined to be different. What had happened to the theory of divine right in England, where on two occasions—when the crown was given to William of Orange and then to George I—the 'right'

was exercised by a perfectly human will? And what was it worth to the House of Brandenburg and the House of Savoy, who owed their leadership of Germany and Italy respectively solely to their own courage and ingenuity? A transformation had taken place in social life; those classes that were deemed to be at the bottom of the ladder began to question the right of the hierarchical system which placed them there. The economic evolution of the West tended to challenge the old order of things; capitalism was born, money increased in importance at the expense of land, and the role of bankers was magnified.

But there were other more disquieting signs. At that period, as always when great changes are imminent, the true causes of the crisis lay in man himself. He questioned his very conception of life and of himself. Very early in the seventeenth century indications of this 'crisis of the European conscience' were evident. The crisis, which according to Paul Hazard began around 1675, was really an indissoluble blend of crises relative to the intellect and the moral conscience. Furthermore, a spirit of libertinism manifested itself early—a growing cleavage between faith and life, the first satanic attack in the revolt against God. Many leading figures noted these evident signs—even Bossuet, who was seldom endowed with the gift of prophecy. They were the source of the great onslaught soon to be made against the concepts under which the world had hitherto been governed, and against the human powers that controlled it.

That onslaught would be directed likewise against divine authority, for the Church was deeply involved in the impending crisis. She was intimately linked with the principles of statecraft and the organization of society during the classical age, she sustained and buttressed the entire system. If the régime were threatened how could the Church possibly avoid involvement? We appreciate that this relationship was essentially provisional; the Church, the spouse of Christ, the trustee of an eternal message, was bound to the régime only in that sense. In no other sense was she tied to any particu-

lar form of civilization She was capable of dovetailing into any transitory system that history might produce without changing her destiny, which transcends time. There was a Church in pagan times and in medieval times; there was even the Church of the Renaissance and of Humanism. The Church of the Classical Age might in her turn drift towards the abyss, but 'the Church' as such must always survive

To enable that to happen it was essential that the sap within her remain vigorous enough to engender future growth, that those in authority become quickly aware of gathering clouds, and do not confuse the transitory with the eternal in relation to the promise. They must be capable of distinguishing between a moribund world and one about to be born. That twofold function was magnificently fulfilled by the Church from the fifth to the tenth century, when she created the civilization of cathedral and crusade out of the bloody chaos of a barbarous Europe We shall see her faced once more with the need to exorcize it again in modern times

Several questions therefore present themselves. How did the Church react to the crisis of mind and conscience, and was she aware of what was at stake? Would she manage to give the correct answers to the questions men were asking themselves in the name of intellectual progress? Had she anything to offer beyond overruling authoritative statements by way of reply to a change of intellectual outlook that cast doubt upon her tenets? These questions constitute one of the serious problems facing the Church on the threshold of the century of Voltaire and the Revolution.[87]

Another question that was already being posed in a different form around 1660 was whether the Church had the energy and vitality required to renew herself while restoring the world No doubt splendid work had already been done by saints and men of faith and talent to impregnate the marrow of society with the spirit of Christianity. It could not be said that the Church had failed to accomplish the mission imposed upon her from the beginning to raise up the baptized

but sinful masses. Yet the fact remains that there was still a great deal to be done; that pure lustrous and radiant Christianity of which the greatest Christians have dreamed, a religion sufficiently robust to counter the difficulties of new times without harm, was still far from being a reality. By the end of the century there were many signs of an impending landslide: fewer missions, fewer books of instruction, and a return to many abuses. Furthermore, the Church herself experienced internal crises which shook her severely, one of which had not been disposed of by the beginning of the eighteenth century. These crises so reduced her power and prestige that she was unfortunately unable to face the storms of tomorrow with her forces intact.

CHAPTER VI

THE DOCTRINAL CRISES OF JANSENISM AND QUIETISM

1. A THEOLOGICAL ALLIANCE

At the end of summer, 1621, two friends, both priests, met at the college of Sainte-Pulchérie in Louvain. Both had formerly been pupils at the city's university, one of the glories of the Church for nearly two centuries and an important cultural centre made famous by Erasmus, Latomus, Busleyden and Justus Lipsius The university was also the centre of disputes and brawls, frequently occasioned by theological discussions.

It was a long time since the two friends had left college One of them had returned to the Flemish city to become president of the college, in other words superior of the seminary The other had come from Paris, where he resided. The younger was a Dutchman born in 1585, in the village of Accoi near Leerdam. He was lean and gaunt, all bone and muscle, the type of Dutchman whom the Spaniards had found unconquerable in Holland's struggle for independence. He was tall, with a long, slightly aquiline nose and a high brow; his chin jutted out, and his pointed, goatee beard made it seem even longer His biretta gave him the appearance of a fighting man rather than a man of prayer. His eye was keen, and through the apparently unbroken calm of his features might be glimpsed an occasional flash of subdued storm. Those who knew him well were aware that his imperturbable air concealed intense emotion and a spirited character

The Dutchman's parents were very poor, but he turned to Holy Orders, following in the footsteps of an uncle on his father's side who had succeeded in becoming Bishop of Ghent and a delegate at the Council of Trent He had a bril-

liant career at the university, obtaining a first in literature and philosophy and a mastership in theology. He began by seeking admission to the Society of Jesus, but was rejected for some obscure reason, probably because he was ill-suited by disposition to a life of absolute obedience. Having returned to Louvain after a long absence in France he enjoyed a considerable reputation on account of his learning, piety, eloquence and strong principles. His name was Cornelius Jansen but, in the manner of the Humanists, he used the Latin name Cornelius Jansenius

The Frenchman, whom Jansenius welcomed with open arms before the fine marble statue of Our Lady which adorned the entrance to his seminary, was a very different man. This restless little Basque was prematurely bald, deeply lined and of stocky appearance, he had an ardent and pained expression which was both disturbing and fascinating. His name was Jean-Ambroise Duvergier de Hauranne, and at that time was forty years of age. Born in Paris in 1581 of a well-to-do family, he received the tonsure at the age of ten, and was educated by the Jesuits under the care of Bishop Bertrand d'Eschaux whom Henri IV held in high esteem. A rosy future faced the young man. At twenty-five he was given the well-endowed parish of Ixtassou, and in the following year a canonry. It seemed therefore that he was destined to lead the easy-going life of a rather worldly minded cleric, of whom there were so many at that time. But that was not to be. He had within him a hunger and thirst which the pleasures of the age could not satisfy, neither could the intellectual attainments which had come to him so easily in Paris and Louvain His soul pined for God, reaching out to an inaccessible holiness. Indeed, he was a strange and extraordinarily complex man whose character was made up of obvious contradictions. Quarrelsome, bitingly and passionately critical of everything, he adopted the discourteous and domineering air of a prophet, yet he was capable of gaiety and tact, and displayed a winning simplicity and an almost Franciscan charity. Undoubtedly this engaging personality, this unfinished

genius, could have been a saint A few months before the Frenchman's journey to Louvain the Bishop of Poitiers, who admired him, presented him with a wealthy abbey which rendered him secure from all material cares, in accordance with the custom of the times he assumed the title of his living–Abbot of Saint-Cyran.

It is very likely that these two men became acquainted at Louvain, in the library or during one of the study-courses. They certainly met again between 1604 and 1606 in Paris, as former students of the same faculty; a little lost perhaps in the big city and rather unwelcome at the Sorbonne where the theological tenets of the Louvain Jesuits were not highly esteemed. They must have passed the long evenings debating many a great problem during the interminable discussions which were the joy of student life. The Dutchman Jansenius was well acquainted with the problems of Protestant reform; and they no doubt touched upon the different spheres of ecclesiastical and lay authority as expounded by the Gallican professor Edmond Richer[1] whose courses they were following As former students of the Jesuits they both shared an intense and bitter antipathy towards their old masters, which possibly explains the harsh judgments passed upon them by the Jesuits. Temporarily separated, the two friends were later able to renew their frequent discussions when Jansenius stayed five years in the Basque country, first as director of the college of Bayonne and later at Camp-de-Prats, the family estate of the Haurannes, where Jean-Ambroise's mother, 'the lady of Hauranne', treated him as a son The two young men had reached a point in their relationship when feelings were subordinated to their common search after vital truths, neither really knowing what part each played individually in their work Later they parted once more, one going to Louvain and the other to Poitiers and then to Paris But distance was no barrier, for they maintained a communion of souls and minds by means of a continuous flow of letters written in the rather affected style of the time.

In September 1616 Cornelius sent Jean a particularly im-

portant letter; he told him of an intellectual revelation he had had, the truth of which he considered to be of such grave significance that he felt compelled to inform his friend at once. With passionate insistence he returned to the subject in letter after letter. Eventually the abbot of Saint-Cyran shared his friend's mental anguish: he became convinced that Jansenius was right. Surely it was absurd to occupy themselves with Greek and Latin authors, the Fathers of the Church, and even probing the Scriptures as they had both been doing up to then, while neither of them had found the reply to the fundamental question that tormented every Christian—'Shall I attain salvation, and how must I attain it?'

After a meeting with Father de Condren, the celebrated Oratorian, Saint-Cyran had become 'converted', in the Pascalian sense of the term, and he was ready to devote his whole mind to this single problem. Was it possible that his friend had indeed found the solution? Without delay he set out for Louvain.

The problems of divine grace and free will were among those that had racked men's consciences for twenty centuries, especially in the West, where personal salvation had always been regarded as the supreme problem. In the East, the East of Arius and Nestorius and metaphysical discussion, controversy had always raged around the dogma of the Blessed Trinity and the two natures of Christ. It was on such problems as the former, those stumbling-blocks that straddled the paths of faith, that Martin Luther had come to grief. Free will, man's helplessness, efficacious grace and sufficient grace—over these terms theologians were still in conflict even though the Council of Trent had formulated precise Catholic definitions Thirty years earlier, in Louvain itself, Michel de Bay, nicknamed Baius, master and subsequently chancellor of the university (he died in 1589), endeavoured to reconcile Protestant concepts with the teaching of the Church. He was, however, condemned by St Pius V in 1567 and by Gregory XIII in 1579, and he submitted. But his ideas survived him, and his friend Jansen, professor of Holy Scripture

at Louvain, maintained them, though cautiously through fear of the Holy Office, and they continued to be held. Others circulated similar ideas, among them the Irish Franciscan Conrius, whose courses, definitely Augustinian in character, created a sensation among the students. It became clear that the controversy relating to grace was not at an end when the Jesuits and the Dominicans confronted each other over Father Luis de Molina's book[2] *Concordia*, which dealt with the problem of reconciling grace and free will. The strict Thomists led by Bañez strenuously opposed it on the grounds that, apart from other defects, it led to a too facile moral outlook. A special Congregatio de Auxiliis was instituted by Clement VIII in 1597 to settle the controversy—which it declared itself unable to do. As bitterness increased Paul V forbade all theologians to refer to the matter publicly. But how was it possible to prevent Christians from discussing in secret, and to enthuse over and devote their life to questions which concerned issues most vital to man?

Jansenius, therefore, wrote to his friend that the only subject worthy of their complete attention and their whole existence was that of grace, in other words, salvation. And he added that he thought he had discovered the unique solution to its most complex problems, a solution that would reconcile all opposing theories, and provide the answer for which all men of faith were waiting.

But how, and where? Jansenius declared that the essentials of his discovery came from his reading of St Augustine. He was sure that within the voluminous and inexhaustible writings of the Bishop of Hippo everything was to be found—every question and every answer. Was he not called the 'Doctor of Grace'? He it was who had mapped out the right path through a maze of errors, he had defended God's rights against Pelagius and the rights of man against the Manichees. St Augustine! He was far and away superior to all those babblers who entangled themselves in Molinism and the arguments of the Schoolmen. Jansenius was quite definite: all truth dwelt in the inspired works of the African bishop.

Such was the subject of the ardent discussions of the two friends during the ten or twelve years that Jean Duvergier resided at the college of Sainte-Pulchérie. Undoubtedly Jansenius sketched out for Saint-Cyran the main points of the doctrine he had evolved and of which, as he considered, St Augustine would furnish the proofs. They discussed them together, while the naturally critical acumen of the little Basque raised objections to which the Dutchman was forced to reply. Together also they grew excited over the grandeur and beauty of their discovery What great service they would render the Church if they formulated in precise terms, with incontrovertible arguments, the doctrine they glimpsed!

Thus their great scheme was developed. Jansenius would devote himself to probing St Augustine in order to extract the substance of the work. He would read through the books on grace ten times, fifty times or more if necessary. He would write a commentary worthy of that genius; a work so profound, so perfect that it would meet with the approval of all enlightened minds. Thus their doctrine, their solution, would penetrate deeply into innumerable souls, passing into the very marrow of Catholicism. Saint-Cyran would assist him by research, criticism, testing the force of Jansenist arguments on this and that person, and generally paving the way for the spread of their doctrine. They had to be careful however; precautions were necessary to prevent their undertaking from encountering the same fate as that of Baius But they intended to keep the secret until the moment when the bomb would burst. Accordingly they perfected a code—admittedly a little childish—to prevent their design from becoming known if their correspondence should be read. The code name for their great project was 'Pilmot'; Jansenius called himself 'Boèce' or 'Sulpice', and his friend 'Celias' or 'Solion'. The Society of Jesus was dubbed with the rather disagreeable name of 'Gorphoroste', and its members were 'Les Fins'. St Augustine himself was given the pseudonyms 'Seraphi', 'Aelius' and 'Leoninus'. Other personages referred to occasionally were given esoteric names, e g. Richelieu was 'Pur-

puratus', Bérulle 'Rougeart', and the King of Spain 'Carpocre'. As for the Protestants, for some unknown reason they were called 'Cucumer'.

Having thus perfected their great scheme and the details of their code, the two friends separated after agreeing not only to write to each other but also to meet periodically in order to acquaint each other with the work's progress. Jansenius remained in Belgium, at first in Louvain, where he was given the chair of Holy Scripture, and then at Ypres, of which he became bishop in 1635. He rarely left the country, except for a mission to Spain and a few brief visits to meet Saint-Cyran. In 1627, having no doubt sufficiently read and re-read St Augustine, he began to draft his celebrated commentary *Augustinus*. He had just finished it in 1638 when death overtook him. He died in dispositions of great piety, submitting his book to the decisions of the Church and entrusting it to his chaplain Lamaeus with instructions to publish it after his death.

Saint-Cyran left the theoretical aspect of the undertaking to his friend and devoted himself to the practical side. He settled in Paris, where he endeavoured to win influence. He was acquainted with Richelieu, who publicly referred to him as 'the most learned man in the world'. He struck up a friendship with Father de Condren, Cardinal de Bérulle, the energetic Adrien Bourdoise and even with St Vincent de Paul. As a spiritual director he guided the souls of a large number of men and women, most of whom belonged to the fashionable world The doctrine in which he instructed them was solid, exacting and imbued with the spirit of reform, such as was taught by the leading spiritual men of that earnest epoch. Bishoprics were offered to him on several occasions, but he refused them he was satisfied to remain the living conscience of his day and to exercise his influence discreetly The attitude he adopted in public was a skilful one, he wrote a crushing pamphlet condemning the somewhat farcical apologetics of the Jesuit Father Garasse, thus bringing the laugh to his side The works he published under the name 'Petrus

Aurelius' (Petrus after the apostle, and Aurelius after Augutine!) secured him the goodwill of the Gallican bishops. Th plan was therefore well on the way to realization; and seemed likely that the young community of the Oratory, wo over to the influence of Saint-Cyran, would serve as the v hicle for the new ideas. Indeed, Jansenius, as Bishop of Ypre had already helped the Oratory to found houses in Belgiu Thus, little by little, and even before it was known, 'Pilmo emerged from the confines of intellectual conception an tended to become a religious movement capable of attractin souls. And the abbot of Saint-Cyran had already discovere the most appropriate centre from which to raise up the mov ment and disseminate its doctrine: the abbey of Port-Royal.

2 PORT-ROYAL AND THE ARNAULD FAMILY

Port-Royal, an abbey of the Bernardines, situated in t valley of the Chevreuse, about six leagues (between sixte and seventeen miles) from Paris, was founded in 1204 the wife of a soldier of the Fourth Crusade to obtain fro heaven the safe return of her husband. It stood in the hollo of the narrow valley, and the hills cut off the horizon on sides. a melancholy region, in which a state of meditati and prayer seemed to come naturally to the soul. For a lo time the abbey had sheltered pious women, living in secl sion, unknown, but following steadfastly the rule of Cîteau Since the end of the Middle Ages its discipline had becon relaxed as in so many other convents of every Order. T nuns' way of life was not actually scandalous, but they h certainly become worldly. They were not enclosed; anyo who wished could enter the convent, and the religious cou go out whenever they so desired As a recreation these rath foolish virgins organized masquerades, their servants did lil wise under the direction of the chaplain. The latter, a Cist cian, could not even translate the *Pater Noster*, and the co vent's library contained but one spiritual book—a Brevia

In forty years the nuns had not heard more than seven or eight sermons.

On the threshold of this abode so ill-disposed to receive grace there suddenly appeared one day a new face—a child of eight. Her father, very much in favour with King Henri and naturally anxious to see his six daughters established, had secured Jacqueline's appointment as coadjutrix of Port-Royal, while her younger sister, aged five, was appointed to Saint-Cyr. Such were the lamentable customs of the times.

When the abbess died three years later (1602) Jacqueline, who had become Mother Angélique, succeeded her On one and the same day she made her First Communion and was solemnly blessed as abbess. It seemed that very little could be expected from this eleven-year-old mother superior. She found the convent very boring, and was so terrified at the thought of having to pass her life there that she fell sick But there was no way of escaping her fate; the abbatial Bull under which she was appointed had been duly sealed, and by a piece of trickery, for the authorities in Rome had been informed that she was eighteen years of age. And her dreadful father, taking advantage of her weakness, persuaded her to sign a document renewing her solemn vows. 'Bursting with spite', she obeyed him.

But God, of course, makes use of everything, even of the most unlikely instruments Though this abbess had no vocation she had within her the seed of sanctity, and here, where she expected perpetual boredom, grace lay in wait for her. At the age of seventeen she already gave evidence of those qualities which she exhibited throughout her life. depth of soul, a tendency to impulsiveness, a virile strength of purpose even in the midst of intense suffering; but she lacked perhaps that true simplicity of heart which might have placed her among those pious women who approach near to God. During Lent in 1608 a certain Franciscan Father Basile, a wandering monk of doubtful morals,[3] preached such a moving sermon at Port-Royal that the young abbess was deeply stirred While she listened to him speaking of the self-abase-

ment of Christ, she gradually came to perceive in an agony of grief the wretchedness of the worldly life of her convent, and she decided to change it.

She began to effect reform by reforming herself. She dressed in a habit of coarse wool, bathed the loathsome sores of a sick novice, returned to the practice of rising at night for prayers and the use of the discipline morning and evening. She grouped around her a nucleus of sisters as determined as herself to change their mode of life. The movement gained ground. Assisted by a visiting Franciscan, the young abbess persuaded her sisters to return to strict poverty. They all laid at her feet their small personal treasures, their fine linen, their jewellery and caskets, and decided unanimously to re-impose strict enclosure. The 25th of September 1609 was a dramatic and splendid day—the 'Day of the Grating'—which remained famous in the annals of Port-Royal. Mother Angélique refused her own father admission to the convent, and closed heart and ears against his indignant protests, she even remained inflexible to her mother's entreaties and went away victorious, though almost at the end of her tether.

This young woman of steel belonged to an old Auvergnat family of parliamentarians and lawyers named Arnauld, who, though tainted with an hereditary strain of pettifoggery, were not without merit and talent. Jacqueline's grandfather, a Huguenot, had rejected Calvinism after the Massacre of St Bartholomew. Five years later he was raised to the peerage. Her father Antoine, who became successively Commissioner of Audit and Public Attorney, was finally called to the bar, and became famous for his lawsuits against the Society of Jesus, which was at that time in conflict with the university. Her mother, Catherine Marion, was the daughter of an Advocate General in the Parlement de Paris. Thus the family belonged to the upper legal class, and were elbowing their way towards the peerage. Antoine Arnauld had twenty children, of whom ten survived him Mother Angélique was the third, the eldest, Robert Arnauld d'Andilly, was the father of the Marquis de Pomponne, minister of the Great King Louis

XIV, the sixth, Henri, became Bishop of Angers. His other five daughters, including the widows, took the veil at Port-Royal, and the youngest son, Antoine, born in 1612, became the 'Great Arnauld'.

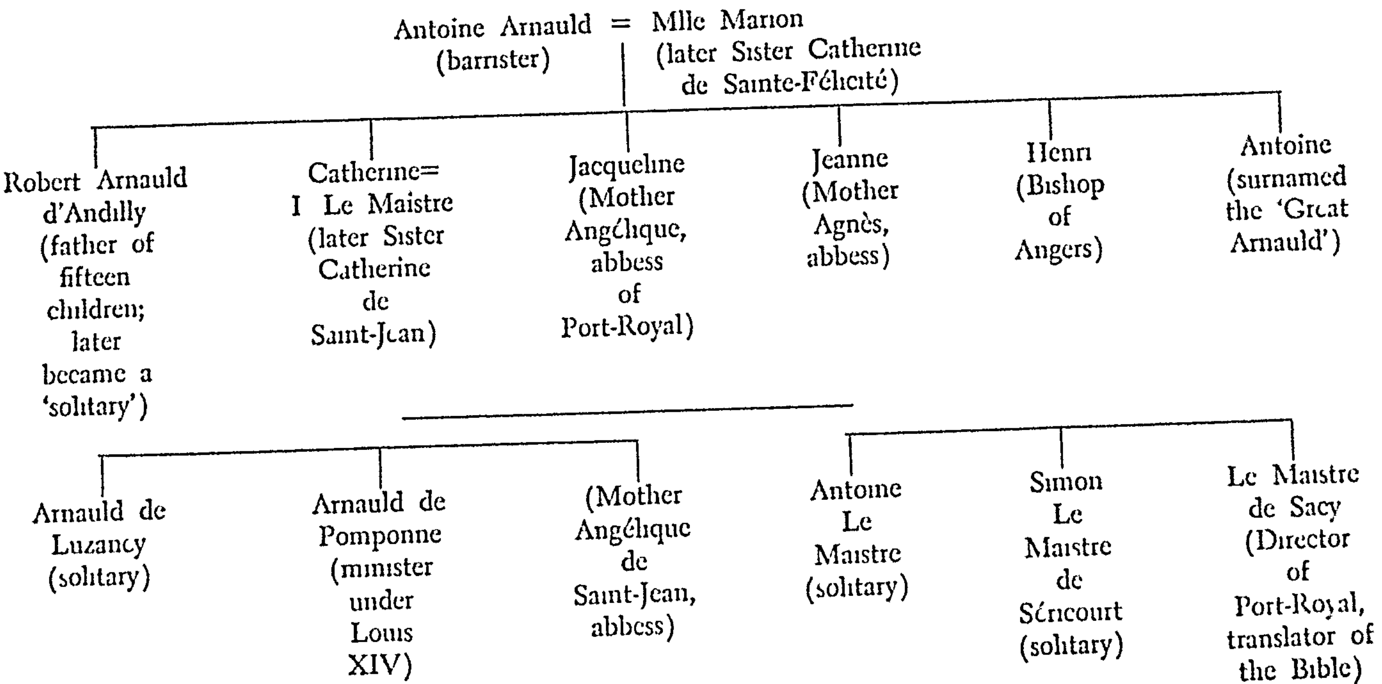
When the Arnauld family recovered its equanimity, they looked a little more kindly upon the courageous act of the young abbess. Her father, no doubt recognizing his own qualities in this display of character, changed his attitude He accepted the situation and lent his influence in support of the reform undertaken by Mother Angélique Rumour reached Paris of the splendid happenings at Port-Royal. The Great Century had just begun, and all that was best and loftiest in the Church was ready to grow enthusiastic over such a creditable enterprise Instead of an illiterate Bernardine or a visiting Franciscan, Port-Royal could now have first-rate men, even saints, as its spiritual directors, among whom were Father Archangel of Pembroke, a celebrated Franciscan and a real mystic, and Sébastien Zamet, the admirable Bishop of Langres Other welcome visitors were the Fathers of the Oratory, even Bérulle himself and more frequently Condren. St Francis de Sales also, while staying in Paris, desired to visit the good nuns in the valley of the Chevreuse. Mother Angélique made a general confession to him, and after his return to Annecy he continued to correspond with her on spiritual matters

Flattering reports concerning Port-Royal eventually reached the ears of Louis XIII, who instructed the intrepid abbess to go and reform the royal convent of Maubuisson, near Pontoise, which another Mother Angélique, sister of Gabrielle d'Estrées and her brilliant rival in intrigue, had allowed to fall into a lamentable state. In the face of violent opposition, even armed opposition on the part of the deposed abbess, Jacqueline Arnauld more or less succeeded in her difficult task, an achievement which put the finishing touch to her reputation.

It is almost impossible to imagine the fame that surrounded this twenty-year-old girl. When she returned from

THE ARNAULD FAMILY

Abridged Genealogical Tree



Maubuisson, accompanied by thirty nuns who had refused to leave her, Port-Royal became an important intellectual centre that drew a vast number of souls yearning for a life of renunciation and absolute mortification. Yet one of the most touching features in the character of Mother Angélique was her constant longing to retire still further from the world and bury herself in a life of total renunciation. She asked St Francis de Sales to receive her into his community at least among his Visitandines, but he refused her request.

There is one black spot in this wonderful story The valley in which the monastery was situated was very unhealthy. Many of the religious died from fever; and while Mother Angélique gladly accepted this as the will of God it disturbed her She therefore took a decision which circumstances seemed to demand they must leave the valley. At Saint-Jacques, on the very outskirts of Paris, her mother bought her the 'Hôtel Clagny', which she pulled down and replaced by a spacious convent. It became the Port-Royal of which a Parisian boulevard still bears the name and of which the building has been used as a maternity hospital since 1814. Suddenly the centre of activity was transferred to the very gates of the capital, and the influence of the reformed community increased still further. Port-Royal became fashionable; all the 'devout' people of the city, the nobility, judges, priests and religious of all Orders, gathered there to pray.

What is more, the strict and powerful gentlemen of the Company of the Blessed Sacrament, that celebrated lay body whose activities could be traced behind every reforming effort of the day, took notice of those nuns whose ideals were identical with their own. They even thought of selecting some of them to establish a new contemplative Order—the Institute of the Blessed Sacrament—more or less directly attached to themselves, the members of which would dedicate themselves to continual prayer in order to bring down God's blessing upon France. The idea won the enthusiasm of Mother Angélique, who agreed to leave her convent and go to the Rue Coquillière to manage the new foundation, but all her sisters,

'because of their great devotion to the Blessed Sacrament', asked to join the new Order. They decided that henceforward their convent would be called 'Port-Royal of the Blessed Sacrament', and that they would bear on their white scapular a large red cross. In any case, Mother Angélique did not long remain in the Rue Coquillière because the worldly success of the convent displeased her, and she returned to her beloved community in the *faubourg*.

And so about 1630 Port-Royal had every appearance of being the very model of reformed monasteries, ideally conducted according to the spirit of the Council of Trent. In the eyes of countless Catholics the habit of the Order, which so many young girls longed to wear, seemed to be the symbol of Christianity restored to its full splendour. There was obviously no question so far of doctrinal deviation, still less of heresy and rebellion; and if anyone had dared to tell Mother Angélique and her daughters that one day they would be condemned by the Church they would have died of grief. Yet the danger was already on their doorstep.

3. PORT-ROYAL AND THE ABBOT OF SAINT-CYRAN

Some time in 1620 Jean Duvergier de Hauranne met Robert Arnauld d'Antilly at the house of a friend, and they discovered that they had a lot in common. Jacqueline's elder brother closely resembled her: eager, forceful, inclined to solitude and prayer, and obsessed by life's great problems. He did not, in any case, find peace of mind until he left the world in 1646 and retired to Port-Royal. A strangely intense friendship developed between the two men, and Robert Arnauld often spoke to his sisters of the brilliant spiritual qualities of his friend. At that period the influence of the abbot was growing perceptibly. His reputation for mortification gave him a halo of glory The words he uttered were on everyone's lips: 'God has made it known to me that His Church ceased to exist five or six hundred years ago'—a statement which allowed it to be understood that he would re-

make it All his penitents sang his praises. Why should the nuns of Port-Royal, themselves aspiring to sanctity, hesitate to place their souls in the hands of this new Augustine?

And that is precisely what happened as a result of a fortuitous circumstance. Mother Agnès, the younger sister of Mother Angélique, had long since left Saint-Cyr for Port-Royal, where she wrote a short work containing sixteen meditations in honour of the sixteen centuries since the foundation of the Holy Eucharist Her work, entitled *The Secret Chaplet*, was a pious treatise, obviously over-sublimated and weak in theology, though not much fault could be found with it as to substance. Sébastien Zamet and Father de Condren approved it, in consequence of which M. de Bellegarde, Archbishop of Sens, envious of the influence of his colleague the Bishop of Langres in the Institute of the Blessed Sacrament, referred the work to the Sorbonne, which found therein 'several instances of nonsense, irrelevance, error, blasphemy and impiety' The Jesuit Father Binet took the same view It seemed that a great fuss was being made over such a little book, but behind the criticism of Mother Agnès the real purpose was probably to attack Father de Condren and the Oratory. This was a fairly common procedure among theologians

There suddenly appeared in Paris a little pamphlet entitled *Apologie pour servir de défense au Chapelet*, and it soon became known that Saint-Cyran was the author. The famous abbot stated that, having examined the sixteen meditations with the greatest care, he could find no fault with them, on the contrary, he admired their doctrine He went further he won the support of his friends in Belgium, and had the work approved by Jansenius and Froidmont, eminent masters of Louvain University. Finally Saint-Cyran wrote a crushing reply to the criticisms of Father Binet. The gratitude of the Arnauld family was overwhelming, as well as that of the Institute of the Blessed Sacrament, the whole of Port-Royal and, of course, Sébastien Zamet.

Zamet was so grateful that he entrusted Saint-Cyran with the spiritual direction of his nuns, on the grounds that he

himself lived so far from Paris that he could not give the task his uninterrupted attention Thus arose a delicate situation fraught with possibilities. On either side of the grille in the parlour of Port-Royal, Angélique and Saint-Cyran, the two great protagonists in the drama, faced each other—'the flint', as Sainte-Beuve put it, 'which would eventually throw off the spark'. From the very beginning complete harmony existed between the abbot and Mother Angélique. In a short time he became the spiritual director of all the nuns at Port-Royal, and he suggested to them that the method followed by M. Zamet was much too easy-going and should be changed. These holy women were seized with a veritable craze for mortification. The 'supereminent ideal of the primitive Church' became the sole topic of conversation at Port-Royal. The Bishop of Langres bitterly resented seeing himself utterly superseded. The community's official preacher for Lent 1635 was Saint-Cyran, who had now become the master of Port-Royal.

Master not only of the monastery that bore the name, but also of the circle of people that henceforward thronged around those sacred walls The radiance of Jean Duvergier continued to extend A youngster of twenty, precocious and burning with the love of God, became the abbot's disciple as soon as he made his acquaintance, and under his instruction launched into the study of St Augustine, assisted by little books of commentaries that arrived from Louvain and later from Ypres. That young man was Antoine Arnauld, the Benjamin of the Arnauld family. Serious-minded men of 'great intellect, learning and virtue', men of good standing in the world, voluntarily grouped themselves together on the advice of the reformer; they took no religious vows, but agreed to lead a life of silence, work and prayer. Among them were Catherine Arnauld's son Antoine Le Maistre,[4] a celebrated barrister who suddenly renounced the world and built himself a little hermitage in the garden of Port-Royal; his brother, Le Maistre de Séricourt, an outstanding military officer; de Bascle, a member of the nobility, and M. Vitart, a member

of the upper middle class whose sister had married a gentleman named Racine. There were also two clerics: Claude Lancelot, a student of Bourdoise and sub-deacon in the community of Saint-Nicolas-du-Chardonnet, and Antoine Singlin, who, having become a priest on the advice of St Vincent de Paul, abandoned the Lazarists to join the ranks of the Solitaires of Port-Royal. In order to assist the further development of his group by drawing to himself the young, Saint-Cyran put into effect a plan to set up *Petites Écoles*—'Little Schools'—based upon a new educational system and intended primarily to form character The execution of this project was entrusted to Lancelot, and pupils began to come in.

The plan outlined by the two friends at Louvain fourteen years earlier appeared therefore to be a success. They had both worked hard, each in his particular field. It was now time to instil the great theories of the Bishop of Ypres into the minds most capable of receiving and disseminating them. Saint-Cyran, disturbed by certain rumours that had come to his ears, left Paris and retired for a while to his abbey at Poitiers Although Jansenius died about that time it seemed certain that their ideas would triumph.

4. THE THREE STAGES OF JANSENISM

Augustinus was published at Louvain in 1640, in flagrant violation of papal instructions forbidding any public statements concerning grace. While the work was being secretly printed the Jesuits succeeded in obtaining a number of pages and requested the Internuncio to warn Rome, so that publication might be forbidden Despite this, the enormous volume came off the press duly authorized and dedicated to the Cardinal-Infante, governor of Belgium. It seemed to appear everywhere at once. In September 1640 copies were sold at Frankfurt fair. In Holland the Calvinists were enraptured with it—an anagram of the name Cornelius Jansenius produced *Calvini sensus in ore*. So many people read the book in France that it had to be reprinted at Paris in the following year, and

at Rouen shortly afterwards. One cannot but be astonished at the success of such a book, it was written in Latin, was extremely bulky and made such heavy reading that the very sight of it would discourage Christians of our time. Publicly, Saint-Cyran was enthusiastic about the work, though he had personal misgivings as to the wisdom of certain expressions. He did, however, declare with the air of a prophet that it was '*the* book of devotion of this last age', 'a book that would endure as long as the Church', and 'it is the kind of book that can never be destroyed, despite King and Pope'.

What then was the doctrine expounded by *Augustinus*? In order to obtain a true picture of that doctrine, it should be studied in relation to theories which had already been subjects of controversy within the Church, for the aim of Jansenius was to formulate a solution that would reconcile opposing tenets and put an end to disputes The basis of the Catholic faith is that man, having lost his original state of innocence through sin, cannot be saved without God's help, without grace. But this divine support is related to man's freedom, and man must strive to save himself. It is extremely difficult to reconcile these two means of salvation. To allow too much to grace might destroy man's liberty; to exaggerate the role of liberty might result in denying grace its proper function and power. Hence the doctrinal deviations in one direction or the other that arose during the course of centuries.

Already during the fifth century the Breton monk Pelagius had stated that man was entirely free by the exercise of his will to do right or not to do right; to save his soul or to lose it—free to say yes or no to God.[5] In other words, original sin had not prostrated man irrevocably. According to Pelagius divine grace is nature itself, and man possesses it because he has reason and can choose his destiny. In such a scheme of things man depends entirely on himself. 'By free will man is emancipated from God'; so said the Pelagian Bishop Julian of Eclanum. It follows, therefore, that Redemption has no meaning, and Christ ceases to be necessary. St Augustine

devoted four large works to the refutation of this heresy concerning free will.

The great doctrinarians of the Protestant Reformation,[0] Luther and Calvin, held the opposite view: they rejected free will, and denied man any positive action in the work of his salvation. They considered that salvation depended solely on grace and the will of God, decided from all eternity by the infinite but inscrutable wisdom of God. Predestined man could do practically nothing of himself in order to be saved or to avoid damnation.

The teaching of the Catholic Church over the centuries is to be found between these two extreme systems, it refuses to make everything dependent upon free will, but it does not leave everything to grace. Such problems were considered as early as 853 by the Council of Quierzy-sur-Oise, which made this profound statement. 'To those who are saved salvation is a gift of God; but those who perish are lost through their own fault.' Here grace and liberty are reconciled; it is an agreement in principle, which leaves a vast field for discussion This had become very clear from recent controversies in which the Molinist Jesuits laid greater emphasis on free will, with the object of building up a moral effort on man's part, while the Dominican Thomists stressed the importance of grace in order to extol faith. Because the Congregatio de Auxiliis established for the purpose of settling the dispute had declined to make a decision, both theories could be taught from the pulpit in Catholic churches. Who then would put an end to this quarrel? Jansenius declared that he would; he, and he alone, was the authoritative interpreter of St Augustine!

According to Jansenius no one before him had discovered in the work of Augustine the synthesis of the demands of both grace and free will. Original sin created an abyss between man's first state and the fallen state that followed. Man was entirely free in his state of innocence, and his will tended naturally towards what was right. In his fallen state he was no longer free but a slave of sin, for ever dragged

along by earthly delights; all that he did led him to the abyss of corruption. But, argued Jansenius, God in His goodness offered humanity a chance to snatch itself from the abyss. Through Christ's merits He gave man efficacious grace, which ennobled the human will. Those who possessed it were indeed free, delivered from the slavery of sin, and the grace in their souls coincided with man's interior demand for the good. But nothing could be done for those who did not possess it; they were without hope. Even the just could not obey the divine commands without grace—St Peter, for instance, denied Christ before Pilate's judgment-seat. Grace, however, Jansenius declared, was not given to all humanity. Many are called, but few are chosen. Only a few exceptional souls were capable of exercising free will in regard to salvation. As for the rest, God did not condemn them, but, because grace has not been given to them, they remained *in massa damnata* as a result of original sin. The Jansenist synthesis, at least as far as the word was concerned, recognized free will in man, but limited it to those few who received grace—a doctrine which parted company with Protestantism in its first assertion, but drew close to it in its second. It rejected the Catholic doctrine which teaches with St Paul that God 'will have all men to be saved' (1 Tim. ii. 4), and gives everyone sufficient grace to enable him to carry on the struggle for salvation. Perhaps it would be an exaggeration to describe Jansenism as a 'rehash of Calvinism', as has so often been done. It would be more accurate to describe it as a kind of semi-Protestantism.

Such was the substance of Jansenius's vast work *Augustinus*, the essentials of what we might call 'doctrinal Jansenism', speculative and metaphysical, born 'in the library of an intellectual', as Bremond so rightly said. But when the theories of the Bishop of Ypres were injected into the atmosphere of Port-Royal they assumed a totally different character, and found expression in moral directives applicable to the daily life of the Christian Thus a 'moral Jansenism' developed and asserted itself, to which real Jansenism gradu-

ally gave way. The term 'Jansenist' in our day has come to signify almost exclusively an excessively severe moral attitude. The relationship between these two aspects of Jansenism was not binding. The Jansenist doctrine of grace no more demanded a stricter form of moral behaviour than did Luther's Protestantism (as was very evident in Germany). For if man is not granted efficacious grace, if, despite his efforts, he is to remain *in massa damnata*, why should he strive to live according to the Commandments?

But the *milieu* in which the doctrine was disseminated was already predisposed to apply the most 'Jansenist' interpretation to the bishop's ideas. The people of Port-Royal were inclined towards austerity; they entertained a gloomy and tragic outlook on Christian life But the austerity of Port-Royal was not unique; quite the contrary. The writings of many prominent Catholics of the day, including among others St Vincent de Paul, Bérulle, Olier, and even the gentle St Francis de Sales, contained statements that the solitaries of Port-Royal would gladly have claimed as their own Mother Angélique's reformed nuns were not alone in refusing all compromise, all worldly entanglement. Nor was the Jansenist Pascal the only one to suffer spiritual torment in wrestling with great problems. The early intentions and the first leaders of Port-Royal were beyond criticism—'Everything we admire in them', said Bremond, 'is Catholic.'

Deviation came later, and it happened through Saint-Cyran. There is no doubt whatever that doctrinal Jansenism developed into moral Jansenism in the soul of that ardent, immoderate mystic to whom Mother Angélique had entrusted the spiritual direction of her community. In fact, Saint-Cyran selected from *Augustinus* its moral and practical conclusions only. But he cogitated upon his friend's transcendent ideas in order to adapt them to a novel spirituality suggested to him by his personal experience. He had most definitely a keen and harrowing sense of man's misery as a sinner. What had undoubtedly moved him most of all in St Augustine was the idea of the 'cruel war waged between

spiritual director. Father de Condren, who had known him since the beginning of his career, said of him: 'He has an inaccessible mind; he loves novelty, and has an inordinate leaning towards the eccentric.' Sébastien Zamet, Bishop of Langres, enlightened by the bitterness of his experience at seeing himself thrust from Port-Royal by his former protégé, described him as 'an insulting and violent personage, without the slightest respect for those who in any way disagree with him'. As for Monsieur Vincent, saint that he was, he bore with humility his being treated by Saint-Cyran as an ignoramus when he gently reproved the abbot for claiming to save the Church single-handed. 'Ignorant? I am even more ignorant than you think . . .' he replied with a pleasant smile. But he remained aloof from Saint-Cyran, and saw less and less of him.

Richelieu shared that mistrust, though his reasons were not entirely praiseworthy. At first the proud cardinal endeavoured to lure this new force into his own service, but Saint-Cyran refused to be drawn. He was not a man to be bought It then came to the all-powerful minister's ears that words of criticism had been uttered concerning governments 'that desired to have none but minions in their service'. The cardinal's opinion of the reformer suddenly changed, he was no longer 'the most learned man in the world', but a 'visionary', an unbalanced, headstrong man. Before long His Eminence declared that he regarded Saint-Cyran as 'more dangerous than six armies', an obvious exaggeration. It is very doubtful whether the master of Port-Royal did in fact plot against the cardinal, but it cannot be denied that his behaviour was that of a conspirator. He wrapped himself in mystery, instructed his correspondents to burn his letters and continually influenced people and events. Richelieu might have believed, or given a convincing impression that he believed, that Saint-Cyran was capable of the 'most evil designs' (to use Bremond's words), and that he exercised control over a sect as dangerous as the Protestants. In fact, these two men were absolutely incompatible. 'There is not a po-

tentate in the world', declared Saint-Cyran, 'who is more naturally qualified to rule than I am' 'Purpuratus', as Saint-Cyran and Jansenius had nicknamed Richelieu, was not the man to make allowances for people with pretentions of that nature.

Various incidents brought his anger to a head. Jansenius, whom everyone knew to be Saint-Cyran's friend, published from Louvain a pamphlet entitled *Mars Gallicus*, a bitter condemnation of Richelieu and his policy of alliance with the Protestants. And when the cardinal had the marriage of Gaston d'Orléans and Marguerite de Lorraine annulled, Saint-Cyran publicly declared that his action was a disgraceful scandal—which incidentally was quite true. Finally, when a certain Father Séguenot of the Oratory published a commentary on St Augustine's treatise *De Continentia*, the inquiry instituted to examine the work, on the grounds that it contained a number of unreliable statements, revealed that it had been directly inspired by Saint-Cyran.

On 14th May 1638, a week after the death of Jansenius, the king's police arrested Saint-Cyran, and confined him in the Château de Vincennes The least one can say about the ensuing trial is that it was hardly a fair one The defendant's old friends and even his confessor were questioned Sébastien Zamet accused of heresy the man whose theology he had praised to the skies a short time previously. Saint-Cyran's letters containing spiritual advice to the sisters of Port-Royal were seized by the police and read in court And Father Joseph, 'the Grey Eminence', worked efficiently in the background. There is no doubt whatever that the trial, conducted by the State, was canonically illegal; for only an ecclesiastical tribunal was competent to try Saint-Cyran, who was indicted solely on his religious opinions St Vincent de Paul had the courage to state this fact clearly in his evidence; he refused to incriminate his old friend, and pressed for acquittal pure and simple. Despite everything Saint-Cyran spent five years in prison

The ordeal was very painful to him; but not physically, for

Richelieu saw that the prisoner was treated with consideration. He allowed him to receive visitors, to correspond with his friends and even to write and publish books. This enabled Saint-Cyran to remain the leader of the movement, to continue to guide numerous souls and even to effect conversions among the imperial officers who were at that time prisoners in Paris. But morally he suffered a great deal; so much so that he experienced a dramatic spiritual crisis during which he asked himself whether he was right after all, whether his opinions were justified and whether his boldness was not merely empty foolhardiness.

His captivity, however, raised him still higher in the esteem of his followers. Port-Royal had a martyr! 'Remember', exclaimed Mother Agnès, 'that the abbot of Saint-Cyran is confined to prison only because he pointed out the true way to penance.' Neither his spiritual daughters nor his friends intended to yield to persecution. In vain did the authorities suppress the 'Institute of the Blessed Sacrament'; the house of 'Port-Royal of the Blessed Sacrament' still remained a centre of mystic fervour. Nothing was achieved by the disbandment of the solitaries. Driven from Port-Royal-des-Champs, where they had settled, they returned without any fuss, continued to recruit adherents and calmly set up their 'Little Schools'.

While all this was going on, *Augustinus* was published, and it created a tremendous sensation. In Louvain the Jesuits set about its wholesale destruction. In Paris the diocesan theologus Habert attacked it violently from the pulpit of Notre-Dame In Rome the aged Pope Urban VIII, an advocate of the policy of appeasement, having tried at first to impose and maintain silence, was forced under pressure from the Jesuits to sign the Bull *In Eminenti* (March 1641). Publication was none the less delayed for two years. All these events were mere skirmishes; preparations were being made for more strenuous conflicts ahead.

When Richelieu died, Mazarin, who was more conciliatory, agreed in February 1643 to set Saint-Cyran free. His nuns,

the solitaries and friends in every walk of life welcomed him with idolatrous demonstrations At the convent of Port-Royal the abbess announced the news to her nuns by loosening her girdle, thus avoiding a breach of silence. As soon as he became free Saint-Cyran began to write against the Protestants, probably to gain the goodwill of the queen mother and the court But a few weeks later he died, a tired man. His zealous followers shared his body amongst them, everyone wishing to keep some member as a relic, the less fortunate had to be satisfied with pieces of linen steeped in his blood, or a little of the dust 'that was made when his head was sawn off'. This ardent leader, this disturbing and fascinating mystic, vanished from the scene at the critical moment of the conflict, aware that he left behind a successor capable of continuing and developing his work still further. That man was Antoine Arnauld.

6. THE 'GREAT ARNAULD'

The youngest child of the famous Arnauld family was at that time just thirty years of age, but physically and intellectually he appeared much older. He had a little, wiry, energetic body that always seemed about to leap. His features were swarthy, rather ugly and with large wrinkles, and he had an unshapely nose. But his eyes glowed like embers. they looked straight into a speaker's face, reaching to the very soul. A strange power emanated from this ungainly man; it might have been irresistible had he possessed warmth of heart and some hidden tenderness. Antoine Arnauld was a brilliant dialectician and polemist who gave the impression not so much of embodying his convictions as possessing a capacity for establishing their truth and setting them out as dogmas In that role he excelled

From his childhood his own family had treated him as an infant prodigy His mother guided his steps towards the priesthood, and from 1638 to 1641 he presented his four set theses before the assembled bishops and judges at the Sor-

bonne, who applauded his work. Moreover, 'Jansenist' tendencies were already noticeable in his outlook. He had studied St Augustine and extracts from the work of the Bishop of Ypres, but he had not yet found his way into the movement. His nephews in the Le Maistre family, the solitaries, who were older than he, were disturbed to see him so satisfied with his efforts, content to ride in his stately carriages and eagerly pursuing worldly success. But like all the Arnaulds he had a craving for things divine, and Saint-Cyran, a profound psychologist, suspected as much. Once, when Saint-Cyran was visited by the young theological student in his prison at Vincennes, he induced him to confide in him and talk about the 'perpetual state of lethargy' in which he had so far lived. He warned him against pride, and persuaded him to restore himself spiritually by solitude, prayer and fasting–advice that he offered his penitents. The last of the Arnaulds responded admirably to the master's expectations as the rest of the family had done, and entered joyfully into the exercise of mortification and austerity of life which 'Jansenism' had now become. Saint-Cyran had no equal in his ability to lead people along the one path that enabled them to give of their best It did not take him long to ascertain the part this slim boy might play, endowed as he was with the intelligence that the conflict demanded While still in prison Saint-Cyran wrote to his pupil on 1st February 1643. 'The time has come to speak out, it would be a crime to remain silent.' Thus he who was to become the 'Great Arnauld' entered the lists.

The field selected–no doubt by his master rather than by himself–had nothing to do with the theology of grace, but concerned morals and practice Perhaps it was one way of distracting men's minds from the criticisms that were being hurled at *Augustinus*, and, more precisely, a means of attacking Jansenius's adversary, the Society of Jesus. It was in fact a Jesuit, Father de Sesmaisons, who permitted his penitent the Marquise de Sablé (a lady on good terms with Port-Royal) to attend a dance on the day on which she had received Holy Communion. Saint-Cyran had forbidden his penitent the

Princesse de Guéméné to do that very thing. This mundane incident inflamed the theologians in both camps, for the moment was ripe for an explosion. On 25th August 1643 Antoine Arnauld published his *De la Fréquente Communion*, in which, taking the fathers, the popes and the councils as his authority, he claimed to restore the true doctrine concerning reception of the Sacraments. This doctrine, he asserted, had been vitiated and corrupted by Jesuitical laxism. The pamphlet was not without merit. Its language was lucid and precise, its arguments solid, and the work contained some very beautiful passages and sublime thoughts on the Holy Eucharist, expressed with impressive piety Hence its success. But Arnauld maintained some curious opinions. Instead of regarding Holy Communion as a means of acquiring spiritual sustenance and increasing grace, he presented it as a sublime reward to be obtained only at the cost of strict mortification and, in any case, to be received very infrequently. In other words—and here we have the ideas of Jansenius—only those should communicate who felt the definite call of divine grace. Not to communicate became a sign of exemplary piety and profound humility. Before confessors permitted their penitents to approach the Blessed Sacrament they should impose on them long waiting periods and severe penances. It was possible to reconcile all this with the intention of the Council of Trent to restore to the Holy Eucharist its former dignity; but Arnauld's treatise clearly ran counter to the tendency of the times, which was to present the Sacred Host as the soul's sustenance. But this emphasis upon the rigorous, rendered inhuman by dint of mortification, was discouraging to poor sinners who constituted the majority of Christians.

The reaction was lively; and not only among the Jesuits. St Vincent de Paul remarked that anyone reading Arnauld's book on frequent Communion was forced to ask himself 'whether there could be any man on earth who held such a high opinion of his own virtue as to believe himself worthy to receive Holy Communion'. St Paul would have dreaded the idea of doing so. 'None the less,' added St Vincent mis-

chievously, 'Monsieur Arnauld boasts that he says Mass every day' It seemed obvious that such a book would turn the faithful away from Holy Communion, and encourage weakness and apathy. In fact, a few years later parish priests drew attention to an impressive drop in religious practice among their parishioners. 'If this book', to quote Monsieur Vincent again, 'has benefited a hundred people by making them more respectful towards the sacraments, it must have done harm to more than ten thousand by drawing them away altogether.' But not everyone was as far-seeing as Monsieur Vincent. Highly placed prelates such as Bishop Caulet, Bishop Pavillon and many others approved the book. In Rome the Jesuit Cardinal de Lugo hoped to put an end to the dispute by suggesting a simple censure of the body of the work while condemning the preface because of a clumsy paragraph in which St Peter and St Paul were treated as equals within the Church Despite these pacificatory intentions the brawl developed When the first Jesuit was put out of action, Father Pétau launched a pamphlet entitled *La Pénitence publique et la préparation à la communion*, a well-thought-out work but so badly written that the Jansenists were able to say that the good Father 'knew every language except his own'. M. Olier intervened publicly, and he was joined by the whole of Saint-Sulpice At the other extreme every Gallican and anti-Jesuit at the Sorbonne and in the Parlement de Paris bestirred himself, even urging Arnauld to appeal against his indulgent condemnation by Rome. This he wisely decided not to do. The quarrel over *Fréquente Communion* was at its height when the controversy over *Augustinus* entered a new phase.

7. THE 'FIVE PROPOSITIONS'

The Bull *In Eminenti* hardly affected the prestige of *Augustinus*, which continued to be read and remained a subject of controversy despite the interdict In 1644 Father Pétau launched against it two weighty treatises in Latin, though extremely erudite they were the despair of his publisher, the

bookseller Charmoisy. Arnauld replied with two works under the title *Apologies pour Jansénius*, which had a very wide circulation as a result of the vast success of his *Fréquente Communion*. But a young and talented Jesuit, Father Deschamps, a more powerful fighter than the excellent Pétau, dealt a stinging blow against the late Jansenius by proving from a comparison of texts that his book revived the theories of Baius which had been condemned by the Sorbonne in 1560. Now at last the anti-Jansenist offensive began. Habert, a former lecturer in theology at Paris who had been appointed Bishop of Vabres, in Tarn, led the attack. A group of Jesuits joined in. Then Arnauld committed the greatest mistake of his career, and it was to do great harm to his side.

When Father Véron, a notable preacher, publicly referred to the Jansenists as Calvinists, they denounced him to the Sorbonne and demanded redress. Nicolas Cornet, doctor of the Faculty of Theology and an extremely just man, decided to deal with the matter personally He read *Augustinus* carefully, and extracted from it, by a method very common in theological discussions of this kind, a certain number of 'propositions' which, it appeared to him, summarized the whole conception of Jansenius On 1st July 1649 he submitted them to the judgment of the Sorbonne. Arnauld and his friends suddenly became uneasy, and obtained a ruling from the Parlement to forbid examination of the case. Nicolas Cornet and his fellow theologians were indignant, they passed the 'propositions' to the Assembly of the Clergy with the suggestions that they be submitted to Rome. A petition drafted by Habert was presented to all bishops Under it the Pope was requested to give 'a plain and explicit judgment' St Vincent de Paul was terrified by what he learned at that time concerning the Jansenist peril and the falling away in the practice of religion in the parishes, he therefore lent the whole weight of his authority to the proposal, and pleaded personally for signatures. Eighty-five bishops signed the petition. In spite of the fact that eleven Jansenist prelates drew up a counter-petition requesting Rome to refrain from pass-

ing judgment, Innocent X accepted the appeal, and appointed a commission consisting of five cardinals and thirteen consultants to settle the question once for all.

The case dragged on for two years; innumerable influences were at work in one direction or another, both sides having dispatched qualified representatives to Rome. The Jansenists subsequently took revenge when they attempted to have the judgment modified by publishing a lively account of the gossip which had surrounded the affair, but that had no effect on the ultimate decision. On 31st May 1653 the Bull *Cum occasione* was signed by Innocent X formally condemning the 'Five Propositions'. All five were declared heretical, and in addition several were described as 'blasphemous, impious and an insult to divine mercy'. In substance the first four propositions expressed the idea that efficacious grace was indispensable to salvation, but that God did not give every man sufficient grace. The fifth affirmed that Christ did not die for all men; He did not shed his blood for all.

The condemnation of Jansenius and his theories was thus precisely stated. What were Antoine Arnauld and his friends to do? Nine years earlier the condemnation of a passage from the preface to his *Fréquente Communion* had driven the hot-headed polemist to take shelter 'beneath the wings of God'; that is to say, he buried himself in a château belonging to the Princesse de Guéméné Since then, however, the position had appreciably changed The Jansenist movement had spread and had grown more powerful; the 'Jansenist party' was a body of some consequence. To begin with, vocations continued to increase in the convent. In 1648 it became necessary to reopen Port-Royal-des-Champs, which had become less unhealthy since the solitaries had had the low-lying ground drained. And the little band of solitaries grew; the six original residents had been joined by many learned men who had abandoned the world to come and pray, sing canticles, dig the land and write books. Robert d'Andilly, the oldest member of the Arnauld family, was among them, he cultivated beautiful pears, and sent Anne of Austria the

'blessed fruits' from his espaliers, there was his son Arnauld de Luzancy; and Pallu, a doctor who was followed by Hamon, another doctor. Among the clerics were Manguelain, Giroust and Duchemin, and even a bishop named Listolphe de Suzarre, and Pierre Nicole, the most eminent Latinist of his day. Finally there was Antoine Singlin, a former pupil of St Vincent de Paul. Singlin began by deputizing for Saint-Cyran as spiritual director of the whole of Port-Royal, and eventually took his place. He had an equally deep understanding of souls, but he was wiser and more gentle than Saint-Cyran. But the 'Great Arnauld' became the real master.

Thus the second generation now occupied Port-Royal, and being, as is usually the case, more committed than the first, they were tougher and more daring. Among the nuns was a daughter of Robert d'Andilly, Mother Angélique's niece, a young girl of twenty who, because of her brilliant gifts, had been appointed novice mistress. She had a most unusual disposition; apart from her burning enthusiasm, she was extraordinarily energetic, and her frigid air of composure concealed the most intense feeling Her name was Mother Angélique de Saint-Jean. Among the men of that second generation was Blaise Pascal. As a preparation for the future Port-Royal had had its Little Schools since 1638, to which Lancelot, Nicole and Le Nain de Tillemont dedicated their lives. These schools were destined to compete with the Jesuit colleges and rival those of the Oratory. A new teaching technique was developed, based upon example and mutual confidence between child and teacher. For the first time in the history of education the French language became a distinct subject in the school's curriculum [7]

The nuns also took boarders into their convent school. Sister Sainte-Euphémie who, before she took the veil, was Jacqueline, sister of Blaise Pascal, watched over them with zeal and tenderness.

The 'Jansenist Party' developed out of the publicity attaching to the dispute. Its adherents came from the legal profession and from parliamentarians, supporters of the free-

doms of the Gallican Church and hostile to Rome on principle, and even from members of the nobility who hated the cardinal-minister on the rather doubtful grounds that he was the Pope's man. Jansenism was in very good odour among the supporters of the Fronde. To obtain an idea of the network of influential members of society that the party included throughout France we have only to quote the names of some of the fashionable women who, from far and near, flocked to Port-Royal: Anne de Rohan, the Princesse de Guéméné, Elizabeth de Choiseul, the Comtesse de Plessis-Guénégaud, Madame de Souvre, the Marquise de Sablé, the Duchesse de Longueville, Louise Marie de Gonzague, future Queen of Poland and friend of Monsieur Vincent, the Duchesse de Liancourt, the Duchesse de Luynes, and even Madame de Sévigné who, as Sainte-Beuve remarked, was 'an amateur Jansenist' just as she was a 'volatile friend'.

Knowing, therefore, that he had the advantage of strong support Arnauld could not avoid the temptation to resist his condemnation. It was a difficult decision to have to make; for Mazarin was about to set up a council of letters-patent to make the Bull law, and was even then calling together the bishops then in Paris, to instruct them to accept the Bull. In fact, all the French bishops, including the Jansenists, did accept it. Even at Port-Royal hesitation predominated: Mother Angélique, despite occasional sudden and violent outbursts against Rome, was inclined to silent submission; Singlin and Nicole were similarly disposed. Had Saint-Cyran still been there, he too might have chosen that way out of the impasse, for notwithstanding his faults he was a high-minded man and not given to subterfuge. But Antoine Arnauld thought he could hedge and evade the issue.

Hence the famous distinction between 'fact and law'. Arnauld adopted the attitude that the Pope had quite rightly condemned the 'Five Propositions'. They were monstrous heresies, but the propositions were not to be found in the *Augustinus* They were a complete forgery by people inimical to Jansenius and his doctrine, and they distorted his ideas.

It was a clever line of argument, but dishonest Not one of the sect's representatives had raised the point during the discussions in Rome. It reeked of the spirit of double-dealing, the cunning of the quack lawyer. Arnauld, however, adopted that line of argument even though he may not have invented it. Nicole may have put it into his head, but Arnauld clung to it with characteristic determination.

The brawl became more violent than ever. Were the five propositions really contained in Jansenius's work? In 1654 the Assembly of the Clergy solemnly confirmed that they were, and a brief statement from Rome said so even more expressly. But were the bishops qualified to settle a point of fact (which any intelligent person could decide for himself) as to whether this or that statement was to be found in a book? Was the Pope really infallible when he set himself up as a judge as to whether a thing was or was not? The way which led to the answer to such questions might also lead to open revolt, even to schism. Whatever the position might be, many upright people were profoundly disturbed Before giving absolution confessors would ask their penitents if they rejected Jansenist ideas and whether they accepted the Bull. Father Picoté, a Sulpician, refused absolution to a very prominent personage, the Duc de Liancourt, because he stated that the five propositions were not to be found in *Augustinus*. Thereupon the Great Arnauld flew into a passion, and retorted with two letters which he published, one to 'this Monsieur Picoté' and the other to his superior, M. Tronson, and the whole of Saint-Sulpice. The letters created a great stir, but produced a brusque reaction from his adversaries. The Sorbonne took the matter up, examined the letters, which it declared to be 'scandalous and an insult to the Pope', and then disposed of the question of 'fact and law' in two well-defined judgments. Arnauld became extremely apprehensive. He drew up two statements which his opponents might have found it easy to accept as a withdrawal had tempers not been over-heated His enemies intended to make him bite the dust—a fact which shows that not all the

faults were on his side. The Sorbonne condemned him, and even threatened to have his name struck from the list of Doctors of Theology if he did not submit formally. All his friends at the Sorbonne could do was to make an impressive exit from the hall as a sign of protest. Even the Parlement dared not accept the appeal lodged by Arnauld.

The Jansenist position appeared to be critical. Rome, the King, Mazarin, the Jesuits. Saint-Sulpice, Saint-Lazare and nine-tenths of the bishops were against Arnauld. They constituted a formidable mass of enemies, and Arnauld felt the approach of disaster. He was obliged to go into hiding, and was able to leave his retreat only at night. For twelve years he led a wandering life, continually changing his hiding-place. Then occurred a sensational circumstance that brought up the whole question once again.

8. BLAISE PASCAL AND THE 'PROVINCIALES'

On 23rd January 1656, the very day on which the sixty Jansenist doctors walked out of the Sorbonne to avoid taking part in the condemnation of Arnauld, a pamphlet appeared that was pounced upon by all classes of society in Paris. The style was incisive and satirical; the arguments vigorous and striking. It was written in the form of a letter to the Jesuits and to an imaginary person living in the provinces, and the subject was the policy and morals of the Jesuits Police inquiries failed to reveal how this little leaflet had been prepared, printed and distributed. Other 'Provincial Letters' appeared at irregular intervals during the succeeding months. Altogether eighteen were published up to the middle of 1657, when they were collected and published in one volume. The third letter bore the signature of Louis de Montalte; either a misleading attempt to be precise or intended to arouse a little more curiosity. The reading public thought it must be a pseudonym; Monte Alte might come from *mons altus*. Could the author be Clermont d'Auvergne?

Be that as it may, Mazarin devoured the *Provinciales,* and 'laughed heartily over them'.

To those in the know there was no mystery about the person hiding behind the pseudonym. He was a close friend of Antoine Arnauld and under the spiritual direction of M. Singlin. His father, a superintendent of taxes in Normandy, was himself a friend of the movement, and one of his sisters was a nun at Port-Royal. The writer's name was Blaise Pascal (1623–62). He was a young man of thirty-three whose influence was out of all proportion to his age. He had a lean face, an aquiline nose and long, thin lips. The interior fire that burned within him lit up his delicate features, and his restless look seemed to be continually questioning life and peering into its mysteries. Everything in him betrayed an extreme and poignant tension, the strain endured by a sick man who, in order to create and to live, had to overcome continually the pressure of trifles, he had the troubled look of a genius to whom the abyss speaks. At twelve years of age Pascal rediscovered alone all the theorems of plane geometry; at sixteen he composed a treatise on conical sections; at nineteen he invented a calculating machine, and had since given ample proof of an intellect of which the scope, power and penetration staggered those who knew him In 1647 his *Nouvelles expériences touchant le vide* aroused the enthusiasm of scientific circles, but his eager mind was already moving in another direction Until that time he had shown very little interest in religious problems. But a year earlier he had made the acquaintance of two doctors from Rouen–De la Bouteillerie and Deslandes–in attendance upon his father who had injured his leg These gentlemen were enthusiastic Jansenists. Everyone in the Pascal family had read the works of Jansenius, Saint-Cyran and Arnauld, and Blaise also was much impressed by them. The result was a sort of 'first conversion', which is apparent in the famous *Prière* he composed for the use of sick people and the excellent letter he wrote to his elder sister Mme Périer on the death of their father. For the time being things went no further than that, and while his

younger sister Jacqueline took the veil at Port-Royal, Blaise was leading a fairly worldly life, mixing with people of fashion, riding in his six-horse carriage and apparently quite unconcerned with questions of grace and salvation.

But God evidently lay in wait for him. Once when he was crossing the bridge at Neuilly he came very near to death. His two leading horses bolted and plunged into the Seine. He experienced a mysterious interior stress in which physical pain (of which he always had his share) played as great a part as metaphysical misgivings. He was thus slowly drawn towards that 'night of fire', 3rd November 1654, that darkness pierced with light, when his beloved Christ imposed upon him His presence, His truth and His message never again to be challenged. Henceforward his irrevocable choice was made, with all his being he believed. Obedience to the demands of Christianity meant staking everything on victory at the moment of death without risking any loss. Converted at last, he placed himself in the hands of M. Singlin, who sent him to Port-Royal-des-Champs to make a retreat.

Thus Blaise Pascal was introduced into the headquarters of Jansenism at the very moment when the crisis was at its most serious The indomitable Arnauld, after a brief period of anxiety and weakness, decided to resume the struggle. It now became for him not so much a question of St Augustine, of grace, of God's rights, but rather of knowing who would prevail—the representatives of true Christianity or the Jesuit clique. It was imperative to return to the contents of the letter which the Sorbonne had recently condemned, but they had to be handled in a different, a cleverer and a more efficient way. Arnauld determined to try. But one may, as Henri Bremond so nicely put it, be a 'theological machine-gun' and yet be a mediocre polemist. When, therefore, Arnauld read the new draft to his assembled colleagues he was forced to recognize that their enthusiasm had waned. 'I do not think you find this piece of writing very effective,' he declared, 'and I believe you are right.' Mme Périer said of him: 'He was not the kind of man who thirsted for praise.'

Arnauld turned towards Blaise Pascal. 'You are young,' he said 'You certainly should do something.'

A little over a week later that 'something' was done Pascal produced his first *Provinciale*.

'Excellent!' exclaimed Antoine Arnauld. 'That will be appreciated, we must have it printed '

Whether or not this dazzling polemist who within eighteen months brought men's minds back to the subject of Jansenism actually agreed with all its concepts has always been, and perhaps always will be, a matter of controversy[8] All we really know of Pascal's religious convictions is gleaned from fragments, the *disjecta membra* of a great unfinished work. It is not even certain whether some of his short notes express his own opinions or those he intended to refute. The discreet Nicole has assured us that Pascal 'thought many Jansenist writings were in need of some slight adjustment'. The moral climate of Port-Royal, its lofty and exacting demands, its atmosphere of sombre austerity, together with its undeniable dignity, were qualities that were bound to appeal to a convert like Pascal who was continually rent with spiritual torment, haunted by the anguish of his misery and unworthiness, seeing himself as a mite hopelessly remote from God. But did he really accept the doctrine contained in *Augustinus*? He told Nicole that if he were one day to write about grace 'he hoped he would succeed in divesting it of the fierceness that had been given to it, and make the doctrine so commendable that it would suit all types of people'. But Pascal was not a theologian, he was therefore amenable to the influence of any theological theories that he might admire, he might even over-colour their expression At the same time, as a result of this ceaseless and dramatic dialogue that he maintained within himself, he was often led to adopt a very different attitude Perhaps it was the Jansenist in him that led him to declare among other things that 'without grace man is merely a creature filled with natural and ineffaceable error'; that to 'people deprived of faith and grace' there remained nothing but 'uncertainty and darkness', that 'to find God a

mediator is necessary'. But from Pascal's pen flowed other sentiments that had no Jansenist flavour: 'I thought of you in my agony; I shed that drop of blood for you',[9] or, 'I love you more ardently than you have loved your stains'; such expressions as 'God perceptible to the heart', 'the heart bowed by God'. Pascal also extols 'the Pope who comes first', the 'trunk' of the tree which is the Church. Though we may not say with Blondel that 'Pascal showed himself to be extremely anti-Jansenist', we may agree with Bremond that 'beside, or perhaps beneath, this Pascal more or less intoxicated by the theology of his masters, there existed another who escaped from them and whose influence was one day to lead innumerable souls back to the bosom of the Catholic Church'.[10]

Why then did he join in the controversy and embark upon a work so far removed from such sentiments? It could not have been entirely due to the influence of those whom he followed as his true guides, or to a young man's pride in being associated with his elders in a struggle. He quite sincerely hated those whom he regarded as public dangers, corrupters of the hearts of Christians—in other words those who supported the easy-going moral attitude that he had learned to hate within himself. What was that violence if not the reaction of an exacting soul against her own inner complicity? A taste for battle did the rest, together with his temperament, less impartial than his intellect, which never yielded but was rather stirred to further activity by contradiction. He believed that he should not obey his own convictions only, but also become the mouthpiece of the group, the appointed advocate of theories with which he did not altogether agree. When Madame de Sablé asked him one day 'if he was quite sure of everything he put in his letters', he replied that 'he was satisfied to avail himself of the reports with which he was provided, it was not his responsibility to examine whether they were factual'. Pascal the physicist would never have argued thus in connection with his experiments on the void!

From the very first *Provinciale* it seemed that the Great Arnauld's prophecy would be realized; the work was appre-

offensive in the grand style, conducted with the object of creating a diversion, deflecting criticism from Port-Royal so that it might fall back upon its opponents. The first three *Provinciales* sought to defend the Augustinian theses on grace, to justify Arnauld and lacerate the doctors of the Sorbonne who 'considered it easier to censure than to assess, because it is so much easier for them to find monks than reasons'. From the fourth, and especially from the fifth *Provinciale*, it was no longer a question of defence but of attack. The real heretics, the true poisoners of the public mind, were not the saintly people of Port-Royal but the Jesuits, 'who put cushions under the elbows of sinners', and made the Christian religion 'indulgent and accommodating' in order to recruit adherents, a religion in which the scandal of the Cross was abolished, and the sacrifice of Calvary no longer had any meaning! One had only to read the books written by the Jesuits—those by Father Escobar,[12] for example, whose manual of moral theology was the casuists' guide! And Pascal would quote—though not always accurately—extracts intended to cause horror or laughter. His vehement criticism was not entirely untrue, however, and the polemist's arrows, aimed at an obviously too facile moral outlook, did not fail to reach their targets. But he implicated the whole of the Society of Jesus, representing it as a monster of hypocrisy and laxity. This was a singularly odd manœuvre at the very moment when Fathers Isaac Jogues, Brebeuf, Lallemant and Garnier had shed their blood in Canada, thus giving proof of the heroism of the Jesuits. But in controversy adversaries frequently hit below the belt, Pascal no less than others. Furthermore, he was not always honest or self-consistent. In the last *Provinciale* he praised Thomism to the skies (no doubt to win over the Dominicans), though he had jeered at it in the first. On several occasions he was guilty of mental reservation, garbled quotations and false innuendoes, all the faults, in fact, with which he reproached 'Jesuitism'. The heat of battle alone cannot be offered as an excuse for his attitude and some of the methods he adopted.

Was Pascal aware that he was going too far, that he was acting discreditably and perhaps even doing injury to the Church?[13] Did he heed the advice of Mother Angélique and M. Singlin, who considered the *Provinciales* too spirited and too uncharitable? Did he perhaps experience an intellectual and moral crisis of such a nature that the arguments he attributed to his opponents found an echo in his own soul ceaselessly in torment? Replying in the seventeenth *Provinciale* to Father Annat, who had described him as the 'Secretary of Port-Royal', he declared 'I do not belong to Port-Royal . . I have said nothing to support such impious propositions. . . . And even if Port-Royal upheld them . . I am not attached to anything on earth but the Catholic Roman and Apostolic Church alone, in which I desire to live and die in communion with the Pope.' He wrote a nineteenth and twentieth *Provinciale*, but he never published them. No doubt he regretted having gone too far [14]

Nevertheless Pascal had given valuable service to his masters' cause If ever the weapon of ridicule was used with deadly effect, this certainly was the case in the battle of the *Provinciales* Mazarin's laugh echoed throughout France. Such counterstrokes on the part of the Jesuits as *Entretiens de Cléandre et d'Eudoxe*, by Father Daniel, and the *Bonne foi des Jansénistes*, by Father Annat, fell flat The ideas of Jansenius gained ground. The brisk language of the *Provinciales* made much easier reading than the dry Latin of *Augustinus*. Of course the Holy Office placed the famous letters on the Index (6th September 1657), and three years later the king commanded them to be burned by the public executioner, but that delay itself and the severity of the measures proved that the work was still very widely read Perhaps it was on account of the letters or the Miracle of the Holy Thorn that the persecution undertaken against Port-Royal was suspended in July 1656, that the Little Schools, closed in February, were allowed to reopen, and that the solitaries, dispersed after the condemnation of Arnauld, were permitted to return to

their beloved solitude. Whatever the case might be, the climate had changed.

9. LOUIS XIV AND PORT-ROYAL

Basically, however, the problem remained unchanged The preceding year it occurred to Pierre de Marca, Archbishop of Toulouse, to draw up a Formulary in which he explicitly condemned Jansenism, and called upon his priests to sign the declaration. In August 1656 the Assembly of the Clergy did likewise, modified the declaration a little and submitted it to Pope Alexander VII. The latter, when Cardinal Chigi, had been one of the commissioners charged by Innocent X to examine the 'Five Propositions'; he was thus perfectly familiar with the situation, and gave formal approval to the text of the document The Assembly of the Clergy therefore made it obligatory for all bishops to sign the Formulary, stating: 'With heart and mouth I condemn the doctrine in the five propositions of Cornelius Jansenius contained in his book *Augustinus*.' The problem of distinguishing between 'law and fact' ceased to exist.

What were Arnauld and his friends to do now? The question at issue was no longer the holding of a simple theological opinion concerning grace and a strict or less strict moral attitude· it concerned the very authority of the Church. The Pope had now settled the problem of fact by stating that the five condemned propositions were indeed to be found in the work of Jansenius; to hold the contrary view was to question his authority. The danger of heresy, and even schism, was imminent. The more reasonable among the Jansenists, including Nicole, advised submission. Others suggested signing the Formulary with 'mental reservation'; in other words, doing precisely what the Jansenists accused the Jesuits of doing so often They would maintain a 'respectful silence' without modifying their thoughts on the subject. The more impetuous Jansenists, who were the most numerous, demanded an out-and-out rejection. Among them were Pascal, his sis-

some kind of vertigo, and that it had spread to almost the whole community. Port-Royal of Paris began to play the martyr. Let the executioners come, the victims were ready! The good sisters looked upon Péréfixe as another Diocletian. In vain the archbishop pleaded with them through Lancelot to yield 'to please the King'. This clumsy phrase merely stimulated their courage They pleaded liberty of conscience. To which the good archbishop, with all the grandeur and firmness of his vocation, replied that they confused 'delicacy of conscience with obstinacy'. And he was quite right.

The assertion by one of the most eminent theologians of the twentieth century[17] to the effect that objection on grounds of conscience is invalid against the Church points to the very root of the drama played at that time at Port-Royal. To resist in the name of conscience an order given in the name of the Church was to destroy the very foundations of the Church, and, because the Church is not merely a human society, it meant saying 'No' to God Did Mother Angélique's pious daughters appreciate that fact? The words of Archbishop Péréfixe—profound for once—described them perfectly 'As pure as angels and as proud as demons.'

On 9th June 1664 the archbishop visited the convent for the first time, and questioned the nuns one after another As he got no satisfaction, their stubbornness irritated him more and more, and he went so far as to tell some of them that they were mad The interview with Mother Angélique de Saint-Jean was especially loud, tense and disappointing.

What was to be done? The archbishop had tried every possible means of conciliation. He had even sent the young Bossuet, a highly reputable preacher, to explain their duty to the nuns They still held out. They considered it to be God's will that they should do so, and the proof lay in the fact that when Mother Agnès opened the New Testament to seek the answer she came upon these words of St Luke. '. . . this is your hour, and the power of darkness' (xxii. 53)! This attitude verged on illuminism, they entered into the darkness

with gloomy zeal. It was a dramatic episode well suited to inspire the playwright Henri de Montherlant.

On 26th August the archbishop returned with police and armed men Twelve nuns were selected to be removed from Port-Royal and distributed amongst other convents, and the order was carried out in deathly silence broken only by stifled sobs. We can appreciate the 'dreadful solemnity' of the archbishop, compelled to resort to such measures and no longer acting like the simple, good-natured man that he was. Mother Angélique de Saint-Jean was transferred to the Couvent des Annonciades, and the 'Blue Sisters' with five Visitandines settled in Port-Royal in company with the new provisional superior, Mother Eugénie de Fontaine, a spiritual daughter of St Francis de Sales. But the firm gentleness of the Bishop of Geneva left these aggressive virgins unmoved. Those who remained of the original Port-Royal nuns carried on an unbearable war of nerves against the hated Visitandines, while those who had been banished to other convents continued silently stubborn, writing 'accounts of their captivity' of which page after page revealed the pride of the dark angel. It eventually became necessary to strike harder; the refractory nuns were regrouped at Port-Royal-des-Champs, cut off from the world and completely deprived of sacramental life. Yet they remained unconquered for four years.

10 THE 'CLEMENTINE PEACE'

Not only the nuns resisted Some of the bishops did likewise, and their resistance, though less spectacular, was more serious [18] In the spring of 1644 Louis XIV instructed the Parlement to register a declaration under which all priests were ordered to sign the Formulary under pain of losing their benefices. Four of the bishops, who were inclined towards Jansenism—Pavillon of Alet, Caulet of Pamiers, Choart de Buzenval of Beauvais and Henri Arnauld of Angers—protested that the King had no right 'to make canons and laws within the Church'. They probably imagined that the Gallicanism of

Louis XIV would restrain him from calling upon the Pope. The king, however, felt compelled to do so, and Alexander VII replied to his request with the Bull *Regiminis apostolici*, making it obligatory for priests to sign a new Formulary expressed in more precise terms than the previous one. The outcome was rage and confusion in the Jansenist camp, some of their number pressing for submission while Arnauld and Nicole pressed for resistance. Once more the four Jansenist bishops adopted a definite attitude, instructing their flock to accept the Formulary as to law, but to maintain 'a respectful silence' as to the question of fact. The Pope condemned this strange directive and, in agreement with Louis XIV, decided to set up a commission to sit in judgment on the rebels. The affair had begun to take a very serious turn when Alexander VII died in 1667.

At once the atmosphere changed. The new Pope, Clement IX was of a conciliatory disposition; so was Bargellini, his Nuncio in Paris. The friends of Port-Royal, especially the Duchesse de Longueville, who had a long arm, bestirred themselves to get the proceedings stopped. The three principal ministers of Louis XIV, Lionne, Le Tellier and Colbert, each hoped for different reasons that some kind of a settlement might be reached. The whole Gallican clique pointed out to the King that he himself had allowed Rome to intervene in a matter that strictly concerned France alone, and that his action had not perhaps been very shrewd. Arnauld, relying upon this decoy, addressed a circular to all the bishops of France in which he accused Rome of 'demeaning episcopal dignity' and 'overthrowing the holy canons' of the French Church. It was in this rather extraordinary atmosphere that ultrasecret negotiations were entered into without the knowledge of Péréfixe and the Council of Conscience. They were to terminate in 1669 with an official statement by Clement IX, announcing a general easing of the situation and the return of the lost sheep to the fold.

A close study of the 'Clementine Peace' shows that it was founded on a host of misunderstandings; for the Jansenists

continued to intensify their quibbles and reservations, while the Pope did not appear to have been kept fully informed. In France an idea became current which may be summed up as follows· 'The Holy See does not claim that the signing of the Formulary makes it obligatory to believe in the implicit or explicit presence of the five condemned propositions in the book by Jansenius, but only that they should be regarded as condemned and heretical in whatever book they might appear' But it is not at all certain that that was the meaning Clement IX wished to attach to his declaration. The truth is that everybody, including Arnauld, was weary of so many squabbles, so much secrecy and underhand dealing. Within the framework of the interpretation given above the Jansenists, and even the nuns of Port-Royal, agreed to submit The bells rang out again in the valley of the Chevreuse, the candles were re-lit in the chapel; the solitaries returned to their hermitages and a rousing *Te Deum* was sung

Then began an idyllic period during which men of goodwill were persuaded that the Jansenist problem was solved. *Giansenismo estinto*—Jansenism is dead!—the Nuncio Bargellini wrote to Rome The Council of State published a decree under which the king's subjects were forbidden to discuss the question of grace or to accuse anyone of being a Jansenist. Le Maître de Sacy was freed from the Bastille, and Arnauld de Pomponne, son of Robert Arnauld d'Andilly, was made Secretary of State in the Department of Foreign Affairs. Louis XIV received the Great Arnauld with extreme politeness; and when Arnauld expressed his regret that he should have been embroiled in so many controversies the king interrupted him: 'All that is over, we must not talk about it any more.'

Bossuet had always maintained a guarded attitude towards the Jansenists He had condemned their revolt and made short work of the question of 'law and fact'; but he admired none the less their moral aspirations and shared their aversion from laxism. He therefore decided to make use of Arnauld's vigour in his struggle against Protestantism. There was even some talk of making the leader of Port-Royal a cardi-

nal. To commemorate this happy hour in the history of the great reign a medal was struck depicting the hand of Justice clasping the Keys of St Peter over an altar—a symbol of the union of the spiritual and temporal powers.

Giansenismo estinto, Bargellini had said But Jansenism was by no means dead. The period of the 'Clementine Peace', which, for better or for worse, lasted to the end of the century, was just another period of expansion for the movement; in fact, its third. During that time it reached its zenith Once again Port-Royal became fashionable. The 'charming friends' of the convent, Mme de Longueville and Mlle de Vertus, had small houses built for themselves in the vicinity. Mme de Sévigné, Mme de Sablé, Mme de Liancourt and many other ladies visited the nuns very frequently. The roads in the valley were cluttered with the carriages of duchesses. The common people flocked there on foot from Paris as on pilgrimage. Well-to-do families contended for the honour of having their daughters educated by the famous nuns of Port-Royal Even the dying asked to be buried near the holy house. All this, as Nicole, Mother Agnès and a few others wisely agreed, was going too far.

The solitaries returned and occupied the lodges they had built not far from the convent, and their numbers increased. The most outstanding among them were Lancelot, the gentle and industrious Le Nain de Tillemont, the scholarly Pierre Nicole and Dr Hamon None, however, was as brilliant as the early occupants. When Singlin died in 1664 Le Maistre de Sacy (1613–84), nephew and contemporary of the Great Arnauld, became spiritual director of the group; a learned exegete, he also possessed a profound understanding of the human soul De Sacy was succeeded by Claude de Sainte-Marthe This third generation of Jansenists had an even greater passion for writing and publishing than their predecessors. The works of Saint-Cyran were published posthumously, and a collection of notes by Blaise Pascal, originally intended to form the basis of an apologetical work, were published in 1670 under the title *Les Pensées* and aroused widespread in-

terest. Le Maistre de Sacy undertook the colossal task of translating the Bible (1672–96), and his version, written in exquisite French, met with tremendous success. The Little Schools were unable to open officially after the crisis of 1661, but houses affiliated to Port-Royal sprang up everywhere, the Jansenist educational system, based upon their own works, e g. *Grammaire, Logique* and *Règles pour l'éducation des enfants*, spread into many other schools, where it functioned during the whole of the eighteenth century. The excellence of their teaching methods was vindicated by the famous pupils they produced, among them Jean Racine, nephew of the solitary M Vitart and author of *Andromaque* and *Britannicus*. Racine had been the much-loved pupil of M. Le Maistre, and at that time was winning glory with his dramatic works Other famous men of letters were also friends of the movement. Nicolas Boileau, like Mme de Sévigné, was something of an 'amateur Jansenist', though his brother Jacques, author of the *Traité contre l'abus des nudités des gorges*, was militant, and even the worthy La Fontaine, whose life was far removed from the austerity of the sect, agreed to back a volume of *Poésies chrétiennes* composed at Port-Royal.

It was at this time that the Jansenist spirit really penetrated into French Catholicism. Many Christians who were quite unmoved by theological arguments allowed themselves to be influenced by those men and women of Port-Royal whom Mme de Sévigné described as 'angels on earth', rivals of the hermits of the desert, saints descended from heaven. Never before had it been so easy and so defensible to confuse a movement towards general reform in the spirit of Trent with those equally austere tendencies that concealed questionable doctrine. There is no question whatever that some saintly souls did succeed in drawing from this well the pure waters of spiritual vitality, but the danger was no less positive. The Jansenist spirit insinuated itself everywhere, it would soon be traced in Orders far removed from Port-Royal, such as the Benedictines and even the Visitandines It could be detected also in new foundations, such as the Filles de l'Enfance, founded at

Toulouse by Mme de Mondonville. The image of the crucified Christ with the arms extended above the head became common among the clergy, even in the most reliable circles Many parishes adopted it, e g Saint-Jacques and Saint-Maur in Paris, and others in Toulouse, Grenelle, Orleans, Alet, Angers and Rouen. It was the period when the famous black wooden Cross was to be found everywhere,[10] and today large numbers of these crucifixes with the body of Christ carved in bone or ivory, showing the arms stretched taut above the head, may still be found in antique shops. The same profound sentiments of the sect influenced painting, as is clear, for example, from the works of Philippe de Champaigne, father of the nun who was miraculously cured.

Outside France, Jansenism prospered in the Low Countries, both in the United Provinces and in the territories under the dominion of Spain. In the very regions where the movement was born its scope remained limited for a long time to theological circles. Jacob Boonen, Archbishop of Mechlin, Antoine Triest, Bishop of Ghent, and many of the doctors of Louvain University refused to accept the judgment against *Augustinus*. The success of the *Provinciales* helped to imbue the masses with Jansenist ideas In 1671 Alphonsus de Bergh, who favoured the sect, succeeded to the archbishopric of Mechlin, he allowed the ideas of Saint-Cyran and Arnauld to be preached publicly, and his successor, William de Precipiano, tried in vain to combat them. Henceforward Belgium seemed to become a hotbed of Jansenism, and it was not long before Catholic Holland felt its influence, especially after the Great Arnauld finally sought refuge in that country. Utrecht, in fact, became a Jansenist headquarters

All this tends to create an impression of enormous success, the triumph of Jansenism Yet the more reasonable members of the sect knew that they had good cause for uneasiness. After all, what was the enthusiasm of the worldly minded worth? Was the spirit of the abbot of Saint-Cyran present in the carriages of the duchesses? Even the best

of their adherents betrayed signs of weariness Robert Arnauld d'Andilly was half-hearted in his wish to return to Port-Royal when peace had been restored. He seemed to be somewhat caught up in the attractions of the world. There was evidence of occasional friction within the group. Nicole began to work more and more alone. Were not the splendid years of Port-Royal, described by Sainte-Beuve as 'the lovely hours of a soft autumn, of a rich and lazy sunset', rather years of apparent glory and hidden decline? And no one knew how long the 'Clementine Peace' would last.

11. QUIETISM, THE HERESY OF DIVINE LOVE

A new controversy flared up shortly afterwards, causing a commotion among all sections of society, although it was not a subject calculated to excite the feelings of ordinary Christians Although doctrinal deviation does occasionally result in real moral aberration, the finer points of heresy are generally perceptible only to the trained mind of the theologian. It is not a common occurrence to see two of the most famous bishops of the day engaged in such bitter controversy that one of them is brought to ruin. Quietism was a trifling matter in itself; but its historical importance was derived from the great conflict between Bossuet and Fénelon

It has generally been assumed that this new type of deviation was essentially opposed to Jansenism; but this notion is too shallow. Some basis of Augustinianism existed in Quietism as well as in the theories of Jansenius, but in both cases they were exaggerated and distorted. The Quietist conception of man was not very much more optimistic than that of Saint-Cyran, Pascal and Arnauld In the eyes of Catholics as a whole the emphasis was rather on the general attitude of the soul to moral practice and its conclusions. Jansenism bowed man to the ground before a dreadful God who, according to His whim, called some and rejected others. Jansenist morality clouded over and dried up the heart Quietism reached conclusions much less pessimistic; we might say that

the Quietists deviated in favour of *softness* as opposed to the *harshness* of Port-Royal.

The Quietist starting-point did not differ from the tenets held by the Jansenists and the most orthodox French school regarding the miserable state of man, this 'nothing', as Cardinal de Bérulle said, 'this most vile and useless creature', or, as Pascal put it, 'this outcast of the universe'. From such a concept the great spiritual leaders of the French school, Bérulle, St Vincent de Paul and Olier, had educed that practical and mystical doctrine that raised man towards God through his own conquest of himself and the giving of his whole being to Love. The Jansenists, in their frantic contempt of human nature (although Pascal declared man to be the 'glory' as well as the outcast of the universe), had merely emphasized the first aspect of spiritual experience, namely the ascetic. The Quietists overstressed the second aspect

St Francis de Sales in his great wisdom counselled a form of abandonment to God which consoled man in the midst of his many miseries. 'I shall do my best', he said, 'to avoid having sores on my face, but if I have them I shall love the humiliation it causes me.' The idea of trusting in God and not 'overrunning' grace might console troubled souls, but the true doctrine, as contained in the *Devout Life* of St Francis, in the works of the great St Teresa and St John of the Cross, and even in *The Imitation of Christ*,[20] taught that God's infinite bounty bestows its gifts upon those who are wholly faithful, who progress heroically towards God's goodness, overcoming the temptations to which sinful nature is prone Absolute abandonment, self-abasement by all means —but of our egoism, not of our spiritual faculties and the striving of the soul.

Confusion was all the easier because the doctrine of abandonment to God was linked with a tendency which has always existed in Christianity, it existed even among the ancients, in the *apatheia* of the Greeks, in the scepticism of Pyrrho and in the famous words of Seneca, *Deo non pareo,*

sed assentior (I do not obey God, my desires are like his)—and we know that that concept is essentially Islamic. Looked at from a Christian point of view the doctrine of 'indifference' had numerous supporters. Was St Augustine really so very far from Seneca when he declared that those only have true liberty who submit entirely to God, to His will and to His law? The Alexandrian philosophers, together with Isaac the Syrian, St John Climacus, author of *Scala Paradisi*, and St Maximus of Constantinople—'Maximus Confessor'—all repeated in different ways that the first degree of contemplation consists in utter indifference to earthly passions. During the Middle Ages, and more so in the great mystical school of Flanders and the Rhine, indifference had become synonymous with the spirit of renunciation, which, according to Eckhart, Tauler, Blessed Henry Suso and even the author of *The Imitation of Christ*, is indispensable to the soul's impulse towards God. By the sixteenth century this idea had become universally accepted. For St Ignatius of Loyola total indifference was the means by which man renounced all inordinate affections and desires, for St John of the Cross it was the point of departure of the soul's journey towards the mystic heights, for St Francis de Sales indifference alone enabled the human will, having shed self though not yet resigned to accept everything, to abandon itself utterly to God, to love 'nothing except for the love of God's will'.

During the Middle Ages this state was described as *quies mentis*, 'quiet of the mind'. The expression itself suggests the danger contained in this doctrine if it were but slightly misunderstood. It is easy to drift from legitimate 'quiet' towards a state of complacent sloth; and that facility exists not only in the psychical domain. Is it necessary for the soul, utterly abandoned to God and closely bound to Him, to continue to make any effort, to perform any act or to mortify itself? According to the Quietists it was sufficient that the soul rest in God, passive and indifferent to everything, even to the temptations that might assail it, and indeed indifferent to its own salvation. 'My desire is to desire nothing,'

said Sister Marie-Rosette, a well-known Quietist, 'my will is to will nothing, to remain attached to nothing. . . . But I do not even desire to desire nothing, because I think that would also be a desire.' What a strange moral and spiritual world such a doctrine leads to! Is the soul still in a Christian climate, or has it attained some vague condition of *Nirvana*? It is very easy to 'wait until God moves us', and to 'do nothing and be led'. But how do we know the devil is not leading us?

There had always been Quietists in the Church. St Jerome had long ago denounced this tendency in the monk Evagrius. About the year one thousand the 'Hesychasts' of Byzantium remained still and silent, with their eyes fixed on the navel, in order to arrive at the contemplation of the uncreated light of God They considered that in this state the soul is altogether incapable of sin. In the twelfth century, in the West, the followers of Amaury Bène and Ortlieb's 'Brethren of the Free Spirit'[21] were Quietists, the Brethren, on the plea of total renunciation, attained a condition of depravity that was anything but spiritual. Quietists also were the enigmatical Begards[22] among whom good and evil were to be found side by side. Even Luther in his youth, between 1515 and 1518 when he despaired of salvation, recommended total surrender to God, the suppression of all effort and every desire, the acceptance of everything, even hell; a doctrine so discouraging that he rejected it.

In the seventeenth century, especially in France, the lure of Quietism was noticeable even among the most lofty and sincere mystics, champions of the principle of Pure Love.[23] They rejected it instinctively, however, remaining within the bounds of a love of God which their prudence enabled them to understand and to which they endeavoured to remain loyally responsive. But it was always possible to misunderstand the counsels of spiritual leaders. M. Olier wrote to a nun· 'You must purify yourself to please God alone' He advised priests to 'so abase themselves in serving God that they no longer looked for a reward'. Father de Condren coun-

selled his penitents to leave themselves to God, abandoning all desire to live and to be. Jean-Pierre Camus, Bishop of Belley, the friend and biographer of St Francis de Sales, preached that the soul should aim at a renunciation so perfect that it would be prepared to accept damnation instead of salvation if such were God's will–which, of course, it is not possible to imagine. Such precepts, so susceptible to misinterpretation, were plentiful They were to be found in the writings and on the lips of such men as Father Surin and Father Nouet, Jesuits both; the celebrated Capuchin Benoît de Canfeld, the pious layman Jean de Bernières-Louvigny, author of *Chrétien intérieur;* his friend M. Bertot, spiritual director of the Benedictine nuns at Montmartre, and M. Boudon, the great archdeacon of Evreux and author of *Dieu Seul.* False mysticism lay in wait for those who lent a too willing ear to sincere calls to a holy indifference and surrender to the mystical impulse. By the light of the Molinosist conflagration the Church would perceive the danger more clearly.

12 THE ENIGMATICAL MIGUEL DE MOLINOS

It was not only in the Church of France that the tendency existed to distort what Henri Bremond called the 'Charter of Love, sublime and holy', on which religious life during the Great Century had been founded. The tendency itself consisted in regarding divine love as a kind of sensual pleasure, and prayer as a 'vague celestial hashish'. Similar views were held in Italy by Achille Cagliarde, author of *Breve compendio intorno alla perfezione cristiana,* and his penitent Isabella Bellinzaga–the 'Milanese Lady'–a capable woman who in her youth had helped St Charles Borromeo in the running of a hospital. In Spain also there were two very saintly men who thought along the same lines. Gregorio Lopez, who went to Mexico and lived the contemplative life of a hermit, and the Venerable John Falconi, author of *Alphabet pour apprendre à lire dans le Christ.* 'The short way to perfection', wrote

Falconi, 'is to remain in peaceful and silent rest, in pure faith in God and total surrender to His holy will'. The same, or in any case less orthodox, tendencies were to be found in less commendable spheres. In certain confraternities, called Schools of Christ, the 'prayer of quiet' embraced a blend of ideas that originated in Islam and India, and the Illuminati, such as those who were condemned in Seville in 1625, practised a spirituality fairly closely related to it. Their counterparts also existed in Italy, notably among the 'Lombardists' of Dom Giacomo Lombardi in the Italian region of the Marches and the devotees of St Pelagia, who assembled in chapels dedicated to that saint. All these movements were eventually linked together and swept along by the violence of the tide.

History is far from having solved the secret of the strange Miguel de Molinos.[21] Prudent, learned and eminent men have disagreed as to whether he was a saint or an impostor. Some regard him as a kind of Rasputin who duped the papal court just as the famous monk later fooled the court of Nicholas II He seems to be condemned by his own admissions, yet the official judgment was surprisingly lenient in view of the crimes attributed to him. France and the world learned from the Dreyfus affair how difficult it is to see clearly in discussions of this nature in which a man becomes a symbol of contention

Molinos was born near Saragossa in 1628 of poor parents, and studied under the Jesuits in Valencia. He received the degree of Doctor of Theology at Coimbra, and was ordained priest at the age of twenty-four. Intellectually he was brilliant, he radiated an air of authority which observers have described as 'at first disconcerting, and then supercilious' At thirty years of age he was already the idol of religious circles in Valencia, a fashionable preacher, a confessor in demand in all the convents. His fellow townsmen sent him to Rome in 1664 as procurator in the beatification cause of Jerónimo Simón, who was dear to them; and Miguel Molinos met with the same success in the Eternal City. Whenever he said Mass those in search of the path towards mysticism gathered round

him; even members of the Sacred College of Cardinals, and among them the future Pope St Innocent XI, at that time Cardinal Odescalchi. Letters reached him from all over Italy, and above his signature he wrote· 'Moved by the Holy Ghost', or 'In the light of the Most High'. He was at that time 'submerged beneath a torrent of souls, though he remained as detached and solitary as a hermit'. His triumph lasted unalloyed for ten years.

In 1675 Molinos published in Spanish, and subsequently in Italian, an account of his teaching, the work was entitled *Guía Espiritual*—'Spiritual Guide'. Its success was enormous, not only in the two languages in which it was published but also in Latin, French and German. Less notice was given to his *Tradado de la Comunión cuotidiana*. He received the most flattering tributes, and when his opponents dared to criticize his theories it was they whom the Holy Office condemned, including even Father Paolo Segneri, at that time the most famous among the Jesuit preachers and a renowned ascetic doctor. Meanwhile Molinos himself remained aloof from all this, and declared that 'his one desire was to be annihilated for Jesus and contemned by all'.

Molinosist doctrine was unqualified Quietism. Its spirituality culminated in two fundamental themes: absolute passivity and contemplation in complete spiritual tranquillity. The soul must aim at 'mystic death', annihilation in God; allowing God to substitute Himself for the Ego and to dominate the whole being. The soul should have no desire, should make no act of love. In fact, every act is displeasing to God because it interrupts the state of passive resignation. Devotion itself is harmful if it is addressed to the visible, e g. the humanity of the Man-Christ, the Blessed Virgin or the saints. Thus one way only was offered to the mystical soul the 'inward way'. The 'purgative way' was no longer necessary: away with asceticism!

Had Molinos meditated on the Gospel of St John, in which Christ said. 'He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me' (John xiv. 21)? Not that he

denied sin and man's falling into sin, but he held that our very vices were acceptable to God, provided that the soul humbled itself When these onsets occurred it was because God allowed the demon to use violence against the will of perfect souls, even to the point of making them perform shameful acts. Under the doctrine of abandonment it was harmful to resist. What might have appeared to be serious faults were regarded by Molinos as simply miserable snares of the Spirit of Darkness *Etiam peccata*. . . . That was carrying things far indeed.

That these theories were not condemned out of hand could only be explained by the prestige Molinos enjoyed with Innocent XI, the Cardinals Ricci, Azzolini, Cybo, the Secretary of State, Capizucchi, who was responsible for the *Imprimatur* granted to the *Guía Espiritual*, and Petrucci, author of a book containing similar ideas, not to mention many of the Roman princesses and ex-Queen Christina of Sweden. What is even harder to understand is that opinion suddenly turned against him There might have been several reasons for this A number of confessors drew attention to the fact that some of their penitents—especially female penitents—were giving anything but a moral interpretation to Molinosist ideas. Inigo Caracciolo, Archbishop of Naples, declared that the 'prayer of quiet' had ousted all vocal prayer as well as confession, especially in convents. The elderly Cardinal Albizzi of the Holy Office took a similar stand Perhaps Quietism appeared to Innocent XI as the antithesis of the Jansenist error which had been condemned, and considered that it also should be stamped out in the general interest. Perhaps also the Pope's confessor, Father Maracchi, pressed for condemnation because he wished to show clearly that the Society of Jesus had no connection whatever with such doctrines, even though it had fought the myrmidons of Jansenius and the over-strict moral code of Port-Royal. Strange rumours were current in Rome, and accusations regarding the holy man's relations with his female penitents reached the Inquisition.

In 1685 he was arrested by the papal police. His house-

hold staff protested the absolute innocence of his life, and kissed his feet as he entered the carriage which took him to prison. Mabillon, who was then in Rome, noted in his diary that no one knew exactly why Molinos had been arrested: 'No one believes that it is on account of the doctrine contained in his published writings, but rather on account of his letters, or at least the unfortunate interpretation put on his ideas by his followers.' To defend the victim of the Inquisition pamphlets were posted up on the famous 'Pasquino'—the mutilated statue to which lampoons were affixed. The mood of hostility developed rapidly, and many of the mystic's disciples were also thrown into the prisons of the Holy Office. It was proved beyond a shadow of doubt that Molinosism was working havoc not only among the women who strove to attain the Nirvana of imperturbable tranquillity, but among others who sought joys of a less celestial nature. Molinos himself confessed to everything of which he was accused; he agreed with whatever his accuser wished to plead against him, whatever the demon, doing violence to his will, might have been able to make him do. His attitude was clearly that of a Christian who, under blows and insults, rejoiced at being like the outraged Christ. Sixty-eight propositions were extracted from his writings and condemned by Innocent XI. He submitted at once, and solemnly agreed to renounce his errors. This he did in the church of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva, on his knees between two *sbirri*, and holding in his bound hands a candle, while the crowd on the square shouted. 'To the stake, to the stake!' He evinced a mysterious air of gaiety and imperturbability, possibly in that state of complete spiritual passivity in which 'No glad tidings bring joy, and no misfortune brings sadness'. Innocent XI flatly refused to allow him to be condemned to death, a fact which gave rise to doubt as to the truth of the moral turpitude of which Molinos had been accused, though he had admitted his guilt. He passed the last nine years of his life, until 1696, in prison, with every appearance of a life of mortification and prayer, if not of repentance.

13. MADAME GUYON

From the very beginning Molinosism penetrated into France, where, as we have seen, it found conditions favourable Although, however, the French Quietists exaggerated the state of passivity and assimilation with God, they never adopted the extraordinary theory of evil and man's lack of responsibility embarked upon by Molinos Thus, in 1664, the blind mystic Malaval, 'the lay saint of Marseilles', as his fellow townsmen called him, published a practical manual on contemplation which achieved immense popularity, Father Segneri discovered seven 'illusions' in the work but nothing more serious. With Father Lacombe and Madame Guyon, however, the deviation developed into something much more significant.

The circumstances surrounding these two personalities were very much on a par with those pertaining to Miguel Molinos. They were the centre of such a maelstrom of heated controversy and vehement quarrels, and were attacked with such violence, that the historian hesitates to accept at their face value indictments in which equity does not always appear to have been observed, or even to recognize confessions which may have resulted from their own fanatical, but Christian, humility.

Father Lacombe was born in Thonon in 1643 He does not appear to have been endowed with that very sound sense of proportion and practical wisdom normally recognizable in natives of Savoy. According to Mgr Calvet he was 'a simple man and a zealous missioner', but also 'a pious visionary'; emotional and incapable of marshalling his ideas. He admitted 'I make foolish blunders which I have to pay for soon afterwards . . . more often resulting from the painful reproaches I feel within me than from the punishments I bring down upon myself'. A man of such temperament was inevitably exposed to the accidents of fortune Having joined the Barnabites, an Order founded in the preceding century

by St Antony Maria Zaccaria, he became a teacher of theology in the mother house of the Order, and later Superior of the community at Thonon. In Rome he became acquainted with the theories of Molinos, and was on friendly terms with Augusto Ripa, Bishop of Vercelli and an ardent Molinosist. He explained his spiritual doctrine, very similar to that of Molinos, in two short works, one of which was written in Latin. They passed almost unnoticed, and perhaps the good father would have remained an obscure Quietist had not chance—or the demon—brought him into contact with Jeanne-Marie Bouvier de la Mothe, widow of Jacques Guyon de Chesnoy and sister of his provincial, Father Dominique Bouvier.

At Gex, facing Thonon across the Lake of Geneva, a house belonging to the organization 'Nouvelles catholiques' had been recently set up to guarantee the perseverance of Protestant converts It was founded at the request of the Bishop of Geneva by a woman whom everyone regarded as an unusual person, and for whom Father Lacombe, the new spiritual director of the house, had boundless admiration. This little middle-class woman from Montargis certainly was extraordinary within the full meaning of the term. She was born in 1648 Even when very young she declared that she had 'visions like those of St Teresa', she said that 'with a large needle' she had sewn on her flesh a piece of paper bearing the name of Jesus! She was physically abnormal, a prey to strange swellings of the body when her skin became pitted with purple marks. She did not seem very much more balanced psychologically. At fifteen her reading of romantic works and a natural tendency towards day-dreaming created a queer tumult in a mind ceaselessly in a whirl. This explosive mixture led her into marriage with a good-natured cousin twenty-two years her senior. On the day after the wedding she declared amidst tears that marriage was to her a hateful sacrifice and that she would rather have been a nun. Though she had four children she somehow (under a process which Freud has studied) transferred her unsatisfied passion as a great lover

to the religious plane, and lived in a mystical delight which made her forget her real life, she applied to herself all the spiritual states the details of which she had read in books, and went so far as to claim that the Child Jesus had placed on her finger the invisible ring of mystical marriage

In this unusual woman the features of mystical experience were amazingly blended, and hysteria undoubtedly exercised a stupendous influence over her. As a young girl she was pretty and coquettish, with alluring lips and the gentle eyes of a doe, but smallpox had left ugly marks upon her face and she regarded them as an extraordinary grace. She had little need of the everyday weapons required to charm and assert her personality. Her tremendous flow of words disconcerted even those who were most unamenable to persuasive eloquence. She wrote with a speed that St Jerome might have envied In a week she produced a commentary on the most difficult of the biblical books, and wrote one on the Canticle of Canticles in twenty-four hours! When Jeanne-Marie Guyon became a widow she was at last able to devote herself to her true vocation the winning of souls. 'Our Lord has made it clear that He has destined me to be the mother of a great people!' she said And she added· 'Deep down I have a natural aptitude for sound judgment, and it never fails me' In the matter of humility at least this Christian evidently stood in awe of no one.

When this preposterous woman came in contact with Father Lacombe their meeting put the finishing touches to her ardour Entirely free from material worries, thanks to an income of fifty thousand *livres* left to her by Jacques Guyon, she could without hindrance abandon herself to an apostolic zeal continually inflamed by her interior voices She dragged the worthy Barnabite along with her in that spiritual Odyssey into which he was already inclined by temperament to plunge. It ended in a complete fusion of souls, the mutual discovery 'of a land entirely new to them both, so divine as to be utterly inexpressible'. There followed the ebb and flow of graces interchanged, a supernatural silence in which their minds,

independent of words, were united. Which of the two controlled the other? It needed but one word from the priest, the magnetic touch of his hand on the penitent's brow, to dispel a sick headache or a stubborn cough. But the Barnabite confessed that when he was away from her he felt bereft of a part of himself. Did their relationship develop into something rather less unearthly? At least Louis XIV, Mme de Maintenon, Bossuet and Cardinal de Noailles thought so, and stated it publicly. Mme Guyon herself never admitted to anything of a serious nature, apart from a few innocent kisses; but Father Lacombe later confessed to moral turpitude. That confession, however, occurred after he had become insane, when the truth of his admissions might have been regarded as open to doubt.[25] Whatever the case may be the mystico-sensuous nature of their relationship was sufficient to throw off balance two dispositions that were already on the threshold of error.

For a while Mme Guyon took the habit of the Ursulines at Thonon. There, and at Gex, Marseilles, Lyons and Dijon, she conducted an apostolate, while she carried out the duties of a simple medical attendant at hospitals in Turin with admirable charity. There were no limits to the zeal of the visionary. The enthusiastic and ardent Father Lacombe followed her despite the warnings of his provincial, Mme Guyon's brother, of his bishop, Jean d'Aranthon of Alex, who was very disturbed, and of Cardinal Le Camus, Bishop of Grenoble. They were surrounded by a fanatical nucleus of 'devout' of both sexes; for them only was reserved the teaching of hidden ineffable truths, while the public was given the mere outline of their doctrine. In 1683, after a dreadful crisis, both physical and spiritual, during which Mme Guyon knew not whether she was carrying the Child Jesus or tormented by the great dragon of the Apocalypse, she experienced a period of tranquillity during which she drafted her *Moyen court et très facile de faire oraison*. It was published two years later and met with enormous success. In two leaflets—the *Torrents spirituels*—circulated se-

cretly she formulated mystical theories for the initiated. This was intensified Quietism, unrestricted Molinosism surrender, passivity, 'recollection in God', the mystical marriage, 'unimaginable innocence' and indifference to human acts. There was nothing new in it all The only point in which Mme Guyon and Lacombe differed from Molinos was the matter of sin. They did not refer to it as violence used by the demon, but they affirmed that 'extreme surrender' and detachment from self could lead the soul to commit faults, 'to commit a sin of which one had the greatest abhorrence' was to offer the greatest sacrifice to God. Such statements confirmed the worst suspicions.

When Father Lacombe and his 'soul-mate' arrived in Paris their doctrines found an immediate hearing. A number of society ladies went into raptures over the visionary. They were anything but mad, but were, on the contrary, souls sincerely in search of spiritual advancement. They included such ladies as the Duchesse de Charost, Colbert's three daughters, the Duchesses of Chevreuse, Beauvilliers and Mortemart, Mme de Miramion, foundress of the Sisters of the Holy Family, known as the 'Miramionnes', and Mlle de la Maisonfort, Canoness of Saint-Cyr, who happened to be Mme de Maintenon's cousin. The mystic couple created such a stir that the Archbishop of Paris became uneasy, in order to please Rome where, as a matter of fact, Molinos had just been arrested, he secured an order from the authorities to confine the Barnabite to the Bastille 'on account of his scandalous conduct',—an action which gave rise to gossip and mirth, for there was nothing edifying about the conduct of Archbishop Harlay de Champvallon. Shortly afterwards Mme Guyon was confined to the convent of the Visitandines in the Rue Saint-Antoine, a trial which she welcomed with great strength of mind, rejoicing to be 'deemed infamous'; she even talked of facing the scaffold, a fate with which she was not in the least threatened.

Meanwhile her friends were indignant, they busied themselves trying to secure her release, and Mme de Maintenon,

who was then at the height of her influence, agreed to intervene. Poor Father Lacombe became more and more absorbed in God, lost in a prayer of quiet which left him insensible to trials. He went from prison to prison: from the Bastille to the Île d'Oléron, from the Fort in Lourdes to the one in Vincennes. In 1712 he died insane—or so it is claimed—in the asylum at Charenton, and his penitent left the convent of the Visitation to return in triumph to the fashionable circles. It was at the house of the Duchesse de Charost that she met a young bishop of thirty-five, whose irresistible charm and noble bearing seemed predisposed to inspire a spirit of mysticism, the surrender of the will, the annihilation of the being in divine love. His name was François de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon. 'They found each other's mind to their taste', said Saint-Simon, 'and the sublime in each intermingled.'

14. THE SEMI-QUIETISM OF FÉNELON

That remark of Saint-Simon's, like many of his witty sayings, was not quite true, for the sublime did not immediately blend in the two friends At first Fénelon was reserved. After a good three hours' conversation with the mystical lady in the carriage which took them from the Château de Beynes to Paris the principles she discussed began to touch him. When at the end of the journey Mme Guyon asked him if he accepted all she had said, he replied: 'It has gone in by the coachman's door.' In other words, he was almost won over.

Is it surprising that a man in whom burned the fire of genius should have allowed himself to be caught up in this way? There might have been many indications that the widow of Jacques Guyon was neurotic, and that 'her mind was clouded over by subconscious dreams which she accepted as divine impulses', but she undoubtedly had within her also an ardent love of God and the conquering strength of an apostle. At the time Fénelon met her she was free from the

cumbering influence of Father Lacombe. For the moment she appeared to be well balanced, and no one in the pious coterie frequenting Colbert's noble daughters (with whom Fénelon was on very close terms) had any doubt about her loftiness of purpose. Fénelon's prejudice against her was therefore bound to collapse. Furthermore, he had reached that stage in his life when a youngish but maturing man, laudably uneasy about his destiny, asks himself questions about the future life; he must also, despite his enjoyment of the full flavour of success, find in it a bitter taste, and to some extent be predisposed to heed as a messenger of Providence a woman who, in a burning voice, speaks to him of abandonment, an inner call and the prayer of simplicity. After all, what did it matter to be a celebrated preacher, the favourite pupil of the great Bossuet and the Superior of Nouvelles Catholiques at twenty-eight years of age? How important was it to be one of the missioners especially appointed by Louis XIV to convert the Protestant provinces, if he experienced an anguish, more intense because it was hidden, that the firmest faith was not sufficient to conquer? What Mme Guyon told him was undoubtedly what Fénelon was waiting to hear.

From their very first meeting Mme Guyon herself experienced, as she said, 'an inexplicable urge to open her heart to the young director. Without over-emphasizing the likeness between Fénelon and Ulyses, the hero of his book *Télémaque*—'his eyes full of fire, the look steady, the smile delicate, his movements casual, his speech soft, ingenuous and winning, and concealing behind his reserved manner a depth of charm and sparkle'—we may yet be permitted to think that Mme Guyon had a sufficiently keen understanding of human nature to guess that Fénelon was an exceptional man in whom burned a mysterious flame. From her point of view it was a veritable venture of spiritual seduction, the lover feeling her soul 'in perfect harmony' with the one she wishes to win, her soul 'adhering to his as the soul of King David adhered to Jonathan's', and having but one aim: to render this

sublime harmony fruitful. There is not the slightest doubt that their relations were chaste. Bossuet did not enhance his stature when he accused them of moral turpitude and compared their relationship with that of the heretic Montanus and his concubine Priscilla. Despite the obviously uncommon appearances which this type of mystical union assumed, theirs was the harmony of two souls in pure love, never departing from the bounds of the supernatural.

What we know of their relationship—and we do know a lot from their letters—certainly causes astonishment, even if we allow for the fact that the language of the day was different from our own (and in this respect we have only to compare the correspondence between St Francis de Sales and St Jeanne de Chantal), and that words which may be ambiguous nowadays possessed at that time a delicate transparency. Though we may also agree with some writers that Fénelon had 'a certain simplicity of soul, at once naïve and profound', we cannot but feel that the filial trust he evinced towards the woman he regarded as his spiritual mother led him to express himself in a manner distressingly puerile. It is embarrassing to see such a great man childishly stringing together doggerel lines to the tune of *Taisez-vous, musette;* lines which run: 'Comme au maillot, je suis en grace . . . à peine je bégaie, je ne sais pas mon nom' (I am in favour, like the baby in the cradle. . . . I can scarcely lisp a word, and I do not yet know my name). It is even more distressing to read that he called the widow Guyon his 'Maman Téton', and that she should reply by calling him 'Bibi'. How strong must have been the spirit of purity in the tender and passionate soul of the future 'Swan of Cambrai' to ensure that all these sentiments did not develop into anything worse! 'I experience no feelings towards you', he wrote to his spiritual mother, 'and yet I am attached to no one more than I am to you. Nothing can be compared with my *cold, dry* fondness for you.' The words in italics are important.

Mme Guyon's influence over Fénelon was therefore beyond question. He thought and believed with all his strength

that she had been placed by God along his path to guide him and provide him with the answer he sought. 'My confidence in you is complete', he wrote, 'because of the brilliance of the light you bring to bear on interior things and God's designs through you.' And he never repudiated that trust and admiration; even when he was compelled to part company with his friend, and ceased to write to her. When she was defeated and rejected by all he remained faithful to her with the grace of the nobleman that he was. 'Hold fast to what I have told you,' she commanded, 'it is of God!' Undoubtedly he obeyed her deep down in his heart to the end of his days.

Not that he accepted all Mme Guyon's opinions and made her errors his own. When he wrote, 'From you I receive my daily bread', he was presumably not referring to his correspondent's dogmatic assertions, but to the spiritual impulse she gave him, to the interior peace he had won back through his contact with her. Apart from that he meant to remain free. 'You mistake your illusions for divine impulses . . .' he wrote. 'I have never doubted the honesty of your intentions, but I express no opinion as to the details of your doctrine. I believe in you without judging you, although it demands an effort not to judge you. You have often made a mistake in temporal matters . . .' Those are not the words of a man who adheres to a doctrine and follows a guide blindly.

Fénelon refused to agree with his friend on very many fundamental points in which Quietism proper deviated seriously and deserved to be condemned as a heresy. Mme Guyon was not very sure of her ideas and her theological terms. She became entangled in the worst snares of Molinosism, accepting the theory that evil is imposed upon the innocent by the violence of the demon, and that God allows the innocent to become 'stained' in the interest of their spiritual progress. She even maintained that a soul in a state of perfect passivity should be indifferent to its own salvation; she went so far as to declare that a soul in a state of imperturbable peace 'would be content to live deprived en-

tirely of the practice of religion'—which *ipso facto* would render the sacraments almost useless. Not for a moment did Fénelon recognize such reckless propositions. On the contrary, he strove to lead his friend to correct them, which she did to a great extent. In Fénelon's hands Mme Guyon certainly grew to resemble less and less the Mme Guyon of Father Lacombe—which suggests a somewhat feminine type of mimesis. Thus the spiritual son also exercised an influence over his 'mother'. 'Guyonism' became 'Fénelonized', as Mgr Calvet has judiciously remarked

Although the future Archbishop of Cambrai was not a Quietist in the heretical sense of the term, it is none the less true that from a doctrinal point of view, and especially from the standpoint of his profound aspirations—for he was never an ardent Schoolman—he was drawn very close to the basic doctrines of the 'spirit of quiet'. He was born and had developed in the atmosphere of 'pure love'. During his childhood at Cahors, where the memory of the Venerable Alain de Solminihac still lingered, he had read in Father Chastenet's book on the great bishop that he had extolled the virtue of being childlike and preached a love of God detached from all desire of heavenly reward. And in the Chartreuse, where he made his retreats, he had listened to Dom Beaucousin talking about Mme Acarie, Marie de l'Incarnation, and her mysticism of love. His uncle, Salignac Fénelon, an influential member of the Company of the Blessed Sacrament, had brought him into contact with the ideas of M. de Bernières-Louvigny. Later at Saint-Sulpice the famous director M. Tronson taught him the pedagogics of divine love, and instilled into him the habit of the presence of God, introducing him to the bountiful source that originated with M. Olier, in which the Christian ideal begins with complete forgetfulness of self All these influences operating in the same direction, combined with the doctrine of pure love and perfect surrender to God, were bound to bear fruit in a soul which, as Fénelon himself admitted, 'bore the burden of itself' and awaited in torment an answer to its problems. What an anti-

dote to the poison of doubt and scruple was this doctrine that counselled the rejection of all things, utter surrender to God and the whisperings of the silent voice! In the circle of his friends, the pious duchesses, Fénelon was able to sense the tendency to dryness in certain forms of asceticism of which Jansenism was the extreme example. Should the life of a Christian consist merely in fighting against sin? Did it not consist rather in living in God and in His love?

Thus Fénelon adhered not so much to Quietism as to that long tradition of spiritual *indifference* that permeated the whole history of Christianity, a sentiment intrinsically bound up with theocentric thought. He who seeks only the will of God is compelled to be indifferent to everything else. 'Holy indifference', he wrote, 'demands that we desire nothing for ourselves, but everything for God.' Did St Francis de Sales, M. Olier and Monsieur Vincent say otherwise? It was the alpha and the omega of what Bremond called 'the metaphysics of the saints'. There was no question of destroying the human will, but rather of delivering it from everything that fettered it, releasing it from *possessing* in order that it might tend towards *being*. The quintessence of this endeavour was the very experience of the mystics: complete renunciation, absorption in God Holy indifference, the 'Fénelonian' state of passivity, meant more than vague contemplation; it meant supreme submission to the divine will. To love God was to die to oneself; it implied rejection of egoism, even of the selfish desire to be ultimately rewarded for one's trust. Briefly, was it unorthodox to 'dispossess' oneself? St Augustine said much the same in other words; and Pascal said: 'The one true virtue is to hate oneself.' The most admirable and profoundly Christian thing about 'Fénelonism' was its expectation of God, 'an ever-present God who envelops us and continually calls us; whom we often fail but who never fails us'.[26] Even when, in some of Fénelon's statements, his doctrine lends itself to misinterpretation, it remains in keeping with the fundamental ideas of Christian

tradition, or, more precisely, to one of the two essentials of that tradition.

For there are two Christian conceptions of the spiritual life, and the Church has always striven to reconcile and fuse them. One views the spiritual life more especially from the theological standpoint, stressing its elements rather than the principles that ultimately draw the two conceptions together on the highest levels; it considers above all dogma, the doctrinal assertions to which faith adheres and the rules upon which life must be ordered. The psychological aspects of human problems remain somewhat outside this conception. But the other places religious experience in the psychological sphere, and requires that faith consist primarily in a perfect state of expectation, the reply to the *irrequietum cor nostrum* of which St Augustine speaks. When the soul knows definitely that it has been called, that it has been pierced by the dart of love that quivers in the hearts of the great mystics, then is everything else added to it· loyalty to dogma and obedience to the Commandments. In a word it is precisely this total merging with God which is the goal of all genuine religious experience, the consummation underlying St Paul's words, 'And I live, yet not I; but Christ liveth in me'; providing always we do not forget that this fusion is possible only at the cost of heroic mastery of self. There is not the slightest doubt that Fénelon was the perfect embodiment of the second of these conceptions, but he had to contend with Bossuet, who was the perfect embodiment of the first. When Fénelon, thinking of those souls who aspired to the plenitude of the spiritual life, offered them his doctrine, his adversary, bearing in mind the needs of less ambitious souls who required safeguards rather than wings to soar to the heights, replied that all this mysticism was very dangerous and might lead to serious doctrinal aberrations. From their own points of view both had cause to claim that religion was at stake, but both were wrong in not recognizing that true Christian experience results from the harmonious blending of these two conceptions, which are complementary. It was

over this perplexing question that Fénelon came into conflict with his old friend and master Bossuet.

15. STORM AT SAINT-CYR

Meanwhile the early success of the young prelate and the visionary Mme Guyon gradually became a triumph; their most resplendent period being from 1689 to 1694. Fénelon had just been selected to be tutor to the king's grandson the Duc de Bourgogne, and he set about transforming this temperamental and quick-tempered boy (who was, however, steady and upright) into a prince pleasing to God, with the result that much was expected of him. His father, the Dauphin, was a remote nonentity living in his little court of Meudon. He knew nothing about France apart from what he read in the society columns of the *Gazette de France*. Fénelon devoted himself to training the future heir to be an exemplary king who would establish in France the reign of piety and the pure love of God. Fénelon felt within him 'a disinterested urge to engage in the conduct of important affairs of State, a task for which he considered himself to have been born'. Might he not become the Richelieu of this future Louis XV? Mme Guyon prophesied that he would be the light of the realm, the star that would lead kings towards the Child Christ. Fénelon's novel *Télémaque*, which he began to write for his pupil the Duc de Bourgogne, set out his ideas of a policy founded entirely upon moral principles. He went so far as to address to the Great King himself an explosive letter worthy of the prophets of Israel, in which he cast the king's faults into his teeth and threatened him with the thunderbolt of divine justice.[27] It was all very beautiful.

A little group gathered round the mystical couple creating something of the atmosphere of a secret society—a community of saintly souls, the Order of 'Michelins', who, like the archangel of old, would conquer 'Baraquin', the devil. It had a general, assistants, a master of novices, a secretary, even brother porters and brother gardeners; there was no task

which the Order did not provide for. It was a childishly mystical scheme to which were added one or two more worldly aims; for, after all, the Duc de Bourgogne was destined one day to rule France. Mme de Maintenon, the queen without a crown, was kept well informed, and she approved these pious endeavours which she hoped would bring about the complete conversion of her husband and the spiritual rebirth of society.

Yet it was through Mme de Maintenon that the troubles began To begin with she confided utterly in Mme Guyon, 'hoping to find joy and consolation in the sweetness of her intercourse'. But all that changed. Mme de Maintenon had recently founded Saint-Cyr, where she intended to educate young society ladies who would become the *élite* of French womanhood. Fénelon lectured there, pointing out the way that lay open to the little children of God. He spoke eloquently on the pure love of God, mental prayer and the suppression of methods based on reason. It did not take Mme Guyon long to find her way into Saint-Cyr, where she spoke with equal ardour. The new institution, having no religious tradition, was literally seized by a wave of fervour and joy. About that time Racine was putting on his plays *Esther* and *Athalie* at Saint-Cyr. The king himself watched them at the door of the theatre, and Mme de Sévigné was in raptures over them. Mme Guyon had a staunch supporter at Saint-Cyr in her cousin the bewitching Mlle de la Maisonfort, even more of a Guyonist than herself, who disseminated strange doctrines among the students: there was no further need for prayers or good works, no need to practise virtue and perform acts of penance, the way of union and passive purification was sufficient. It was indeed a strange doctrine. Mme de Maintenon might have been influenced by subconscious jealousy at seeing another woman exercise so much sway over the young ladies, and she opened her heart to the Bishop of Chartres and her spiritual director Godet des Marais. The latter, perhaps also subconsciously, might not have been very happy about Fénelon's success An inquiry was instituted among the students, and it was found that they were all more

or less Quietist in outlook When the king was informed he expressed a desire to read some of Mme Guyon's writings and those of her great friend, with the result that he found all this spirituality too fanciful for his taste. A group of theologians was secretly consulted, and all, except Tronson and Bourdaloue, had some very definite comments to make. Father Joly, Superior of the Lazarists, even went so far as to use the word heresy. Mme de Maintenon decided to submit the matter to an adjudicator, and she chose Bossuet.

This choice, which Fénelon accepted with great marks of respect, was sufficient in itself to cause the Saint-Cyr incident to miscarry. Though Bossuet was an excellent theologian and very well acquainted with patristic studies, he was not really familiar with the mystical writers of the previous two centuries, even St Teresa and St Francis de Sales, he was therefore instinctively suspicious. Thus his approach to mysticism was through the writings of an unbalanced woman concerning whom the most unpleasant rumours were current, and he was expected to express an opinion. All this was sufficient to cause him to confuse to some extent true mysticism with the false, Fénelonism with Guyonism, Quietism and moral decadence. As he read the works of Mme Guyon, and especially her autobiography, and after several interviews with her—or rather cross-examinations to which he subjected her at the Visitation convent in Meaux, where the visionary had agreed to settle—he became more and more convinced that he had to deal with a madwoman This may have been a rather drastic conclusion, but he was not entirely wrong In any case he looked upon her as a very dangerous woman

Thinking herself lost Mme Guyon asked for two other judges in addition to the terrible bishop to be appointed to consider the matter. This request was granted her, and the commission of three members met at Issy in a country house belonging to the seminary of Saint-Sulpice. The members were Bossuet, M. Tronson and Noailles, who was at that time Bishop of Châlons. The inquiry lasted eight months, much to the disgust of Mme de Maintenon, who hoped for a speedy

settlement. Mme Guyon defended herself with the help of enormous volumes, and endeavoured to prove that she was vindicated by the Fathers of the Church and the spiritual writers. Fénelon discreetly lent her his support. The attitude of the three judges was not altogether similar. Bossuet arrived at Issy in a carriage loaded with books, determined to prove that he was right beyond the shadow of a doubt. Tronson was more subtle; he feared that an out-and-out condemnation might harm the cause of genuine mysticism. Noailles kept in mind the court of Versailles. And the Archbishop of Paris, Harlay de Champvallon, aware of the general opinion, once more condemned poor Father Lacombe and Mme Guyon's *Moyen Court* in order to steal a march on the commission. A draft judgment was eventually prepared. It condemned a number of 'articles' extracted from the works of Mme Guyon without mentioning the author's name. Mme Guyon still had many friends, and there was no desire to discredit publicly one who had been so prominent at Saint-Cyr; besides, the noble Fénelon had powerful connections.

During the course of the discussions at Issy, Fénelon's personal position in the matter had not been questioned, he remained in the background, but stated openly that he was ready to agree in advance with the decisions of the three judges. In February 1695 he was appointed Archbishop of Cambrai, which Saint-Simon contemptuously described as 'a country diocese'. However, it brought in an income of 200,000 *livres*. This may have been a reward for Fénelon's attitude at the inquiry, or a means of removing him from the court at Versailles, it might even have been the outcome of skilful manœuvres on the part of his friends the duchesses. He immediately took advantage of his new appointment to make himself a member of the committee of judges and to add a number of clauses which toned down the verdict. Mme Guyon agreed to retract publicly and it seemed that everything would be settled satisfactorily Bossuet consecrated the new archbishop in the chapel at Saint-Cyr, in the presence of Mme de Maintenon and the Duc de Bourgogne. The problem of

Quietism appeared to have been solved; but it had only just begun.

16. BOSSUET VERSUS FÉNELON

Why was the controversy resumed? Why should these two great men who had so far not opposed each other openly engage in a duel from which neither would emerge with enhanced reputation? No one knows precisely, but the causes were certainly complex. Bremond held the rather romantic view that the Jansenists planned to discredit the Church which had condemned them, but that is pure hypothesis. It seems more likely that the motives were psychological[28] It is quite possible that Fénelon, whose submission was sincere when he assured Bossuet that henceforward he would hold no opinion that differed from his, changed his mind in one of those spasms of conscience that were habitual with him In certain respects he was unstable. He admitted· 'I could not say anything that might strike me as false a moment afterwards.' His friends may have reproached him with having given in and betrayed the cause of Pure Love and true mysticism. Perhaps also those who had staked everything on him, and dreamed of attaining high office through the 'Michelin' scheme, were thinking along the same lines. Mme Guyon stood as a living sign of contradiction. Bossuet kept her within arm's reach in the convent of the Visitation at Meaux, in the hope of bringing about a more complete conversion Unable to bear it any longer she escaped and fled to Paris, where she was arrested by the police and imprisoned in Vincennes The extremely tactless manner in which she was interrogated concerning her relationship with Fénelon ended quite rightly by ruffling the Archbishop of Cambrai. His dismissal from Saint-Cyr and his replacement by Bossuet really hurt the sensitive archbishop. Even Mlle de la Maisonfort turned anti-Quietist. Bossuet probably suspected his one-time protégé of playing a double game, but his reaction to Fénelon's courageous loyalty towards his harassed friend may have been too harsh.

Did Bossuet view with displeasure the fact that Fénelon had become his equal, even his superior, in ecclesiastical dignity? Certain rather tactless words used by the Bishop of Meaux in a pastoral letter weighed heavily upon the heart of the Archbishop of Cambrai.

These two men were really so different in disposition that their antagonism appeared almost natural. One cause of the trouble was the difference in their ages. Bossuet was nearly seventy, and the ardent forty-year-old Fénelon was in the prime of life. Then there was the clash of temperaments between the proud peer from the south, so easily offended, quick and unsophisticated into the bargain, and the son of middle-class Burgundian parents, with his feet firmly on the ground, little inclined to dreams, more sound than subtle. But the greatest difference between them lay in their spiritual outlook. And we have seen how closely this was in keeping with the particular genius of each. Finally the conflict between these two extraordinary men was based on their doctrinal concepts, each being convinced that he was upholding the rights of God and the Holy Spirit: the one defending the integrity of dogma and morality against dangerous innovation, and the other striving for the liberty of the interior life against religious conformism and its deadening effects. This controversy between two geniuses concerning problems of such magnitude was indeed a great controversy, even though human frailty led both antagonists to make use of weapons that did them little credit.

In July 1696 Bossuet wrote a second *Instruction pastorale sur les états d'oraison*,[20] and when it was finished he sent the manuscript to Fénelon seeking his approval. Undoubtedly his intention in doing so was to establish the fact that they were in perfect agreement on the clauses set out during the inquiry at Issy. But Fénelon was suspicious, and scented a trap. When he opened the manuscript he noticed that quotations from Mme Guyon's *Moyen Court* had been made in the work without any attempt to be lenient. He put away the work indignantly. Was he expected to be so dishon-

ourable as to overwhelm his defeated friend? Was he being asked to repudiate what he held most dear? At the end of three weeks he returned the work without having read it, still less approving it. Then, taking pen and paper, he wrote at top speed his *Explications des Maximes des Saints sur la vie intérieure*, in which he explained his doctrine on religious experience, and in addition showed how easy it was to turn true mystics into heretics by distorting their ideas. When reading these two books today we do not see as much opposition in the views expressed as did their authors There is great beauty in both books, especially in Bossuet's, and if Fénelon had only studied it a little more calmly he might have found grounds for agreement. But at the back of their minds they already felt bitter towards each other. As soon as Fénelon finished his book he sent the manuscript to his friends The Duc de Chevreuse took it to the publisher at once without apparently obtaining Fénelon's clear approval. Everything moved so quickly that the *Maximes des Saints* was published (in 1697) a month before Bossuet's *États d'Oraison*. Bossuet's pride as an author was wounded and, not without good reason, he regarded Fénelon's behaviour as discourteous.

This brought about the final rupture. Bossuet was furious against the 'perfect hypocrite', as he described Fénelon, and threw himself at the king's feet to beg his pardon 'for not having revealed earlier the heresy of Monsieur de Cambrai'. He knew what he was doing. A strong anti-Fénelon group existed at the court of Versailles· those who were jealous of his success, those who envied his appointment as tutor to the king's grandson, those who hated the Jesuits–well disposed towards Fénelon but opposed to Quietism There was Noailles, the new Archbishop of Paris, and Mme de Maintenon, who could not forget the trouble at Saint-Cyr. As for the king, his feelings towards Fénelon were uncertain. He admired him, but regarded him as 'a chimerical person', which, coming from the king, was a severe censure. Perhaps he was also aware of Fénelon's criticisms, albeit discreet, of

his morals, his policy and his costly wars. All that was quite sufficient to destroy the 'Swan of Cambrai'.

The *Maximes des Saints* was violently attacked as soon as it was published, and frequently by people who had never read the work and who were indeed utterly incapable of understanding it. The most unkind rumours were current in the court and throughout the capital. It was claimed that the book was nothing more than an attempt by the archbishop to plead the case of Mme Guyon; what sort of a relationship must therefore exist between them? Generally speaking, the theologians who read the work were extremely hostile; even the prudent M. Tronson dealt cautiously with it. When the stern Abbé de Rancé, the reformer of La Trappe, was consulted, he replied that, 'If M. de Cambrai was right the Gospels should be burned; and one might complain that Christ had come into the world only to deceive us.' Fénelon was kept aware of all this fuss, the ill-natured gossip and the pamphlets,[30] and he knew that his enemies deliberately confused his ideas not only with Guyonism but even with Molinosism, of which he disapproved. But he committed one tactical error. He refused to participate in any discussion of his book if Bossuet were to be present, and he added that he would not retract, in any case, as his conscience told him that he was right. The outcome was open war.

One would prefer to pass over the various episodes of the quarrel, not only for the sake of the honour of the Church, but on account of our admiration for these two great men. They hurled numerous pamphlets at each other, which were a mixture of theology and polemics, and their methods were sometimes unsavoury. As far as ideas went it was, said Cardinal Grente, 'a magnificent contest' lasting two years, the indignant Bossuet 'riding full tilt' against his adversary, and Fénelon 'parrying swiftly and brilliantly, remaining ever courteous, and assuming, with devastating elegance, an air of injured innocence'.[31] But their conduct towards each was shabby Their intrigues involved the palace and the police; there were thefts of correspondence, abuse and slander, both

week, and their tone became more and more bitter. The dispute reached a climax with the publication in June 1698 of Bossuet's *Relation sur le Quiétisme*, a veritable lampoon equal in literary quality to the *Provinciales*; the bishop of Meaux adopted the same methods as Pascal, transferring the controversy from the field of ideas to the field of facts, accusing his opponent of dishonourable intentions and buttressing the weakness of some of his arguments by the violence of his abuse. It was a masterpiece of style and insincerity. Worse still, by making use of the original documents concerning the relations between Fénelon and Mme Guyon he went so far as to make all kinds of scurrilous insinuations, comparing them both with Montanus and Priscilla—an imputation which, however, he was later to regret. Fénelon was able to profit from the very violence of the attack, and with such subtlety that his rival exclaimed. 'That man is clever! The power of his intellect is frightening.' One retort especially struck home. Without exactly accusing Bossuet in precise terms, Fénelon hinted that his former master and friend had used a written confession he had made to him in confidence and out of the fullness of his heart before the Issy discussions took place There is no doubt that, strictly speaking, this was not a sacramental confession, but it constituted a glaring indiscretion on Bossuet's part, and did him no credit.

The affray continued just as briskly in Rome, and the methods adopted were no less shameful. Both camps had their supporters and agents. On Fénelon's side stood the ambassador, Cardinal de Bouillon, nephew of the great Turenne, who detested the Noailles family, the Jesuits, who wrongly suspected the Bishop of Meaux of Jansenism. He also had the support of several cardinals who feared that his condemnation might be regarded as an attack on true mysticism. Furthermore, Fénelon's appeal had pleased the Pope and the Roman Curia, who were well acquainted with the virtuous life of the Archbishop of Cambrai. His own agent was the Abbé de Chanterac, a highly respected priest. Bossuet sent his nephew, the Abbé Bossuet, to the Eternal City. He was a

dubious character, but wily and an excellent theologian. He had the backing of all who had fought Molinos, and his personal prestige was considerable. Two rather contemptible incidents give some idea of the extent to which the power of influence was utilized in the controversy. The 'Bossuetists' communicated to the Holy Office the record of the cross-examination during which the unhappy Father Lacombe, who was half mad, had confessed to a guilty relationship with Mme Guyon The 'Cambraisians' for their part cast a slur on the Bishop of Meaux by saying that he was merely influenced by jealousy; they circulated the distressing story of the love affairs of his nephew the Abbé Bossuet, whom the flunkeys of Duke Cesarini had soundly thrashed for having tried to seduce their master's daughter. Zeal for the Pure Love of God was lost sight of in all these squabbles.

Considering all this mud-slinging one feels almost grateful to the King of France for having intervened to ask the Pope to put an end to the quarrel as soon as possible. If Innocent XII had resembled Julius II or Paul IV, or even Innocent XI, the king's interference might have induced him to act energetically, and he might have confined in the Castel Sant' Angelo the insolent Abbé Bossuet who, like a true Gallican, told the Pope what to do, and suggested that he should word his Bull to the satisfaction of the French bishops! In fact the Pope gave in and agreed to sign a condemnation, but he did so in subdued terms to the effect that Fénelon's book was prone to 'lead the faithful imperceptibly into errors already condemned by the Church . . .' and that it contained propositions which were 'rash, offensive to the ear and discreditable'. The condemnation made no mention whatsoever of heresy

It did, however, mean repudiation and defeat for Fénelon, but he accepted it with dignity. On 25th March 1699 he received the news of his condemnation just as he was entering the pulpit. Putting aside the subject of the sermon he had prepared, he improvised a sublime discourse on obedience to the authority of the Holy See and the virtues of submis-

sion. Two weeks later he published the papal brief declaring his adherence to it 'simply, absolutely and without the shadow of reservation'. Perhaps he experienced a sort of bitter joy at feeling himself 'held in low esteem and an object of pity', and remaining, as Chanterac told him, 'steady and calm at the foot of his Cross'. For all that his attitude was worthy of admiration, and gave him a strange grandeur. The fact that in one of those sudden spasms of moodiness which were common with him he subsequently wrote to some of his friends that he had been condemned for expounding theories which he had never held, or that he may sometimes have given the impression that he adopted the attitude of 'respectful silence' with which he had so often reproached the Jansenists, made little difference to the general dignity of his behaviour. Neither should we attach importance to the fact that he rejected a vague gesture of reconciliation by Bossuet—a rejection which the embittered bishop countered with a desperate attempt to secure yet another formal condemnation. Fénelon's submission brought the affair to a close. Mme Guyon ended her days in 1717 in exile at Blois, at the home of one of her daughters. Her spiritual son's letters had become fewer and fewer. Quietism was dead.

But what were the consequences of the crisis? Considered objectively the literature that was born of the crisis might have fostered a greater knowledge of the spiritual life; it might have led to a fuller and more grandiose definition of the role of the mystic impulse, of reason and of the soul's activity. But there existed an atmosphere of emotion that impeded such a favourable outcome. To compensate for this, however, some of the effects of the crisis were beneficial though less ostentatious. By justly condemning the Quietism of Molinos, Father Lacombe and Mme Guyon, as well as the semi-Quietism of Fénelon, Rome undoubtedly warded off grave perils—the perils of an easy-going morality. But at the same time did it not have a detrimental effect on true mysticism, as Innocent XII feared it might do? And was this not so in France especially, where a certain rationalist tendency

had begun to develop which sought out motives for distrusting every inner impulse and denouncing those 'possessed of God'? This tendency was one of the factors that gave rise to a narrowing-down of the Catholic mind. On the other hand, by insisting on the play of sentiment and interior experience did not the followers of Fénelon open the flood-gates to that tide of romantic egoism which in the next century found expression in the works of Jean-Jacques Rousseau? Again, the ruthless controversy between the two heads of the French Church gave encouragement to free-thinkers. the cruel language used by the Bishop of Meaux against the Archbishop of Cambrai made them shake with laughter! At that time a song was being sung in the streets of Paris, for everything that happens in France is eventually turned into song:

Dans ces combats où deux prélats de France
Semblent chercher la vérité,
L'un dit qu'on détruit l'espérance,
L'autre soutient que c'est la charité:
C'est la foi qu'on détruit et personne n'y pense[33]

Such is the wisdom of the people.

Was it really wise to provide malignant tongues with an opportunity to turn Pure Love into an object of jest?

Another outcome of the Quietist controversy, but on a different plane, was soon apparent: once again the Jansenist threat became grave, and at the very moment when Rome had settled the bishop's quarrel. Bossuet was perhaps so carried away by his zeal to fight false mysticism that he remained blind to the imminent revival of Jansenism. He may have regarded the *Réflexions morales* of Father Quesnel as a sort of antidote to the errors of Fénelonism. His distrust of Pure Love seems to have provoked him into defending theses which, by crushing love under the weight of fear, resulted in keeping the faithful away from the sacraments, and prepared the way for irreligion. As often happens in violent controversies, it is Christ's truth, and especially Christ's charity, which emerges battered. Strictly speaking, only the Pope was victorious. The

controversy was brought to an end through the appeal made to his authority, by the same token it was he who emerged triumphant from the great Jansenist contest. But from a spiritual point of view was not the whole Church the loser?

17. RESUMPTION OF THE JANSENIST CONTROVERSY: RACINE

Scarcely ten years after the pious Clement IX thought he had put an end to the Jansenist heresy it appeared to be on the point of revival. Indeed the Jansenists displayed an utter lack of prudence. The popularity of Port-Royal, the fuss that was made over the convent and Antoine Arnauld were bound to arouse the king's suspicions· Louis XIV did not like anything to become fashionable which might deprive him of the limelight. The most zealous champions of the sect went about declaring that they had never been condemned or conquered, and that they had therefore never submitted. The Jansenist bishops, led by Henri Arnauld, Bishop of Angers, continued to rebel against the *Formulaire*, so that once again, in 1676, the king had to publish a decree to bring them to heel. At that time a new factor was introduced which greatly aggravated the situation.

In 1673 the Gallican crisis[34] had just blown up as a result of the *régale* affair. The conciliatory attitude of Clement X failed to check it. When the energetic Innocent XI followed him to the Chair of St Peter in 1676, it became evident that the struggle was about to take a decisive turn. Who would triumph, the Pope or the Most Christian King? To aggravate the situation further the two bishops—Pavillon, of Alet, and Caulet, of Pamiers—who had protested against the government's claim to extend the right of *régale* to the whole country, were well-known Jansenists. Collusion between the friends of Port-Royal and the king's enemies appeared obvious. As a matter of fact, the Roman Curia had been extremely lenient towards Arnauld's supporters, and everyone was convinced that the Pope had promised Arnauld the cardinal's hat and

had asked him to formulate a broad scheme of Church reform. In Jesuit circles Innocent XI was being discreetly referred to as 'the Jansenist Pope'. And did not the Probabilism affair seem to confirm these suspicions?

Arnauld and his friends had not forgiven the Jesuits, and they sought to get their own back. Pascal had shown them the Society's weak spot. That indefatigable polemist had gleaned inspiration from various casuistic treatises, even among Jesuit writings, and found no less than sixty-five propositions which he regarded as responsible for moral laxity. Many of them proceeded from a 'Probabilist' doctrine, a weak variety of laxism. It allowed that everything not formally rejected by the Church, or condemned by one of the Commandments, might be regarded as probable.[35] The sixty-five propositions were condemned by the Pope in 1679, and the Assembly of the Clergy at Bossuet's instigation reiterated the condemnation. The Society of Jesus was not mentioned by name, but it was the object of the attack. Innocent XI made a formal request that Father Tirso Gonzalez, a well-known anti-laxist, be appointed the Society's General. Thus public opinion came to regard the Jansenists as the real defenders of Christian morals which had been jeopardized by the detestable defects of laxism. Consequently Jansenism immediately began to forge ahead in various provinces of religious life, in Italy and Holland as well as in France. It was a practical form of Jansenism, having very little in common with Jansenius and the problems of grace, but very much concerned with moral austerity. Innocent XI had certainly not intended that; he desired simply to preserve doctrinal integrity against the laxists, as he intended later against Molinos and the Quietists. But his action ended by making Louis XIV apprehensive, for the king regarded it as an admission of an alliance between Rome and Port-Royal.

The atmosphere became oppressive. In the spring of 1679 the Duchesse de Longueville died—a loyal friend of Port-Royal and one of the very few people whom Louis XIV permitted to speak frankly to him. For the last ten years of her

life she had spent six months in every year at Port-Royal-des-Champs. The good-natured Péréfixe had been succeeded in the episcopal See of Paris by Harlay de Champvallon, to whose part in the Quietist affair we have already referred. His private life was not very edifying, and he aimed at high office, an ambition he was not to fulfil. He distrusted the Society of Jesus, which had the king's ear through Father La Chaise, the king's confessor. At the same time, in lending its support to the revelations which Margaret Mary Alacoque had had four years earlier and to the new devotion to the Sacred Heart, the Society was promoting a form of piety radically opposed to the harsh Jansenist observance. The whole business made Bossuet uneasy.

It was Archbishop Harlay de Champvallon who, having learned how to please the king, initiated new coercive measures On 17th May 1679 he visited Port-Royal, he was polite and all smiles, but implacable. He ordered all the postulants, the young boarders and the priests to leave forthwith. The convent was forbidden to accept novices, and the number of nuns was not to exceed fifty. Port-Royal was condemned to death by extinction.

At the same time Antoine Arnauld was asked to drop the spiritual reunions that he held in the suburb of Saint-Jacques. Imagining himself threatened he fled to Flanders and then to Holland, and the gentle Nicole was persuaded to do likewise. Not that the great fighter had laid down his arms: he refused to return to France despite the fact that his safety was assured (though Nicole did take advantage of the offer), and continued to produce polemic writings to the end—more and more of his 'machine-gun theology'. He remained firmer than ever in his conviction that his trials were his guarantee of right, and that he was one of God's elect.

Before leaving France for ever the Great Arnauld had one consolation Jean Racine, the most brilliant of the students issuing from the Little Schools, returned to the fold Arnauld and his friends had considered him for ever lost to heaven, a slave to the world and the disastrous passions which his

plays portrayed. After his marriage and the comparative failure of *Phèdre* (1677) Racine began to reflect. The Abbé Jacques Boileau, brother of the 'lawgiver of Parnassus', reconciled him with Nicole and subsequently, though not without difficulty, with Arnauld himself. In a famous speech before the whole Areopagus of the Jansenist *élite* the dramatist demonstrated that his play *Phèdre* was not immoral, and at the end the great Antoine took him in his arms. From that moment Port-Royal had no better friend than Racine. When he described the persecution of the Jews by Haman, in his play *Esther*, was he not depicting the persecution of Jansenism? In any case Mordechai made a good portrait of Arnauld, and Esther's maidens bore an extraordinary resemblance to the nuns of the valley of the Chevreuse. He went further: courageously taking the part of the persecuted, he took upon himself the task of writing a history of Port-Royal; and in his will he asked to be buried among the 'Solitaries' in the cemetery of Port-Royal-des-Champs, at the feet of M. Hamon.

18 THE AGONY OF PORT-ROYAL

In 1698 Jean Racine died Arnauld had died four years earlier, but just as he had taken the torch from the hands of Saint-Cyran, he left behind him another to take it up: Pasquier Quesnel (1634–1719), an Oratorian. It will be remembered that when Jansenius and his friend developed their first plans they dreamed of making the spiritual sons of Bérulle the shock troops of their great offensive. But that did not happen, the Oratory never became Jansenist *en bloc*, though its members regarded the Port-Royalist movement with less animosity than hitherto. Some manifested an attitude of benevolent neutrality because they recognized the undeniable qualities of Port-Royal, and feared that a sweeping condemnation of its principles of austerity might simply foster a tendency towards a soft spirituality. Pasquier Quesnel was among those who held this view. While Director of the Paris Oratory he did not intervene in the Jansenist quarrels.

He was a pious priest who was certainly not on a par intellectually with Arnauld and Saint-Cyran, as suggested by his dull look and ovine cast of features; but morally he was among the most upright. In 1671 he published a small book entitled *Réflexions morales sur le Nouveau Testament* which competent judges deemed to be an excellent spiritual treatise, severe in tone but containing nothing suspect. To the moderns it has a Pascalian flavour, and many of the ideas expressed read very much like Pascal's *Pensées*.

Father Quesnel became the victim of a circumstance fairly frequent in his day but which we of this age find surprising: some of his personal notes were published without his permission, and they proved to be very much more Jansenist in tone than his former work. It was useless for him to disclaim publication; he was still held to some extent responsible. When, therefore, his friend Father Abel de Sainte-Marthe, General of the Oratory, was forced to resign his office in 1681 on account of his friendship with Arnauld, Father Quesnel was involved in his downfall. Various incidents aggravated the dispute between him and his congregation; he left and settled in Brussels near the Jansenist leader.

In the meantime the *Réflexions morales* met with success, and went into several editions. In the manner of La Bruyère, Quesnel went on adding to his work with each new edition; so much so that it eventually appeared to be a book altogether different from the original edition, and infinitely more Jansenist in tone. Moreover, a number of very pious people had approved the first edition, notably Félix Vialart de Herse, Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, who had even recommended it to his clergy. Both Father La Chaise and the Bishop of Meaux had praised it, and it was known that the Pope himself had read it. But did the succeeding editions warrant such commendation? And were the episcopal prefaces which Father Quesnel retained at the head of succeeding editions still valid? The alert opponents of Jansenism could not risk letting such trickery pass unheeded. They began a campaign against Quesnel, who was accused of being Arnauld's lieutenant, and

in 1694 the *Réflexions morales* was denounced to the Sorbonne and the Holy Office simultaneously.

It was about this time that Louis-Antoine de Noailles, bishop and later cardinal, appeared on the scene of this unending drama of Jansenism. One hesitates to judge this pious and kindly prelate too harshly; his morals were perfect, his life austere and his intentions absolutely beyond reproach; none the less the part he played was an unfortunate one. It is sufficient to study his portrait painted by Largillière to recognize that this man, with his expressionless face, ungainly red nose and kindly smile, had nothing of that quality of shrewdness and authority required for the position he held. He succeeded Vialart de Herse to the See of Châlons and, as we have seen, played a prominent though ambiguous role in the Quietist affair, acting as judge with Tronson and Bossuet of Mme Guyon's writings. When Harlay de Champvallon died in 1695 several preachers refused to pronounce his funeral oration—'prevented equally', as one of them said, 'by the manner of his life and his death'. Mme de Maintenon then had Noailles nominated to the See of Paris that he might break with the past, but also because Noailles was a friend of Bossuet's and his selection would definitely bar the way to Fénelon, whom she pursued with her resentment. 'He was a man of limited understanding and a confused mind, and he was weak and soft-hearted. He said white to one and black to another. It was useless to seek his opinion, for he had none.' Such was the description of him given by the 'Swan of Cambrai'; it was hardly flattering, but not untrue.

One of the first things Noailles did was to devote a pastoral letter to Father Quesnel's book, redoubling the praises bestowed upon it by his predecessor. 'This book is as good as a whole library,' he told his priests. The Jansenists hailed the appointment of Noailles to the See of Paris as a great victory, whereas their opponents suspected him at once. An incident that occurred shortly afterwards amused the gallery. The Jansenists had republished an old book propounding their ideas; it was entitled *Exposition de la foi touchant la Grace*, by

Barcos, a nephew of Saint-Cyran. The Jesuits asked the archbishop to censure it, and this embarrassed Noailles. To approve Quesnel and condemn Barcos appeared to involve a contradiction, even to 'a man of limited understanding'. He called on Bossuet to help him, and the bishop got him out of the difficulty by drafting for him a statement repudiating Barcos but extolling St Augustine! Shortly afterwards a small leaflet appeared under the title *Problème ecclésiastique*, and it caused much amusement. Its anonymous authors (two Benedictines of Saint-Maur) pretended to ask innocently if the Noailles who had disapproved of Barcos was the same bishop who had so warmly recommended the *Réflexions morales*.

Bossuet then attempted to put things right. It occurred to him to prepare a new edition of Father Quesnel's book, after pruning it of everything that might be deemed suspect. He did even better: he wrote a *Justification des Réflexions morales*, expressed in the warmest terms. 'We oppose the *Réflexions*', he wrote, 'purely in a spirit of contention'; but, went on Bossuet, 'we cannot find anything in it but good advice and instruction'. He went so far as to add: 'Is it not manifest calumny to upbraid the author of the *Réflexions* for having spoken as so many saints have done? If his language is suspect . . . we shall have to be continually on our guard against the words of the Gospel, lest some quibbler comes along and accuses us of being Jansenists.' On this last point at least Bossuet was quite right, a frenzied anti-Jansenist attitude could do a great deal of harm. But there is no doubt at all that in his desire to plead a cause the great bishop did more or less delude himself in the matter of the *Réflexions*, and failed to discern the other danger—the imminent revival of Jansenism. He did not publish his treatise,[36] but informed Quesnel of its contents. At that time Quesnel was living in Belgian Flanders and, considering himself safe from attack, absolutely refused to make the corrections suggested by Bossuet. [illegible] yet another edition of his boo[illegible]

Fénelon was the one man who did not permit himself to be misled by Quesnel's ideas The Quietist conflict during which he had been made to bite the dust had just come to an end. Fénelon has very often been accused of wishing to get his own back on Bossuet and Noailles, whose embroilment in the new controversy was causing them embarrassment. We cannot entirely discountenance the theory, for Fénelon was a man of complex character, and he might well have entertained the notion side by side with the more praiseworthy desire to re-establish his good name with the Pope and the king. But undoubtedly his conscience and a sense of duty impelled him to resist Jansenism. His diocese of Cambrai swarmed with Jansenists. Their gloomy doctrine could only horrify him, for he had never ceased to proclaim that 'we must not approach God with the respectful fear of a slave, but with the surrender and trusting tenderness of a son'. He conducted a considerable correspondence from his retirement in Cambrai, and his letters warned his friends of the dangers of Jansenism and the increasing harm the heresy was doing to souls. As a result of his efforts Godet des Marais, Bishop of Chartres, who was among those who first attacked Quietism, also became concerned. At the Assembly of the Clergy in 1700 it was the influence of Fénelon and Godet des Marais which predominated, not that of Bossuet and Noailles. On that occasion the Assembly condemned a posthumous work by Arnauld in which the old fighter had endeavoured to prove that Jansenism was a mere phantom invented by his opponents. He claimed that laxism, to which the observance of Port-Royal was the antidote, was indeed the real heresy.

These battles between theologians and bishops did not lend a great deal of excitement to the discussion, yet it suddenly became violent. The Jansenist leaders, aware of the temperament of Noailles, endeavoured to persuade him to take a definite stand on their behalf. They presented him and his mentor the Bishop of Meaux with a particular 'case of conscience'. Father Gay, superior of the seminary at Clermont-Ferrand, refused absolution to a Father Fréhel, parish

priest of Notre-Dame du Port, because he himself had given absolution to the Abbé Périer, Pascal's nephew, a hardened Jansenist who had always adhered to the principle of 'respectful silence' on the question of 'law and fact'. Had Father Gay the right to refuse absolution? Forty doctors of the Sorbonne declared that he had. A pamphlet dealing with the case was being read all over France, and Bossuet was furious at being unable to hush up this new quarrel He sent a strongly worded protest to Noailles. Clement XI condemned both the pamphlet and the forty doctors of the Sorbonne. In four pastoral letters Fénelon returned to the condemnation of all 'so-called Augustinians'. Bossuet himself, unhappy at the way matters were going, made known to the king the danger 'evident in innumerable writings emanating from the Low Countries'. A kind of Holy League was developing against the 'phantom' of Jansenism, which still seemed very much alive.

Louis XIV had become weary of all this commotion. The older he grew the more he detested non-conformists; especially the Jansenists He said that he regarded them as republicans and, according to Saint-Simon, he deemed them to be just as heretical as the Protestants.[37] He asked for details of recent incidents, and decided that the person really responsible for the whole trouble was Father Quesnel It was quite an easy matter for him to obtain from his grandson, Philippe V, the new King of Spain, a promise to have the former Oratorian arrested in Brussels. The Spanish police were so accommodating that they sent to Versailles all the documents they had seized. The 'Quesnel Papers' were decoded, broken down, commented upon, and read to the king by his confessor every evening over a period of ten years in the presence of Mme de Maintenon. Since the introduction of *Pilmot* the Jansenists had always retained a mania for assumed names and disguised expressions. Consequently there was no doubt whatever in the old king's mind that Jansenism was anything but a phantom, it was an intrigue and a public danger.

He then asked Clement XI to publish another Bull condemning the sect and especially the 'Case of Conscience'. Clement XI agreed, but not without some hesitation, for he suspected a flavour of Gallicanism. The Bull *Vineam Domini* was published in 1703, registered by the Paris Parlement and approved by the Assembly of the Clergy—which alone made the Gallicans regard it as valid, it was even accepted by Cardinal de Noailles in an involved pastoral letter. Fénelon was unpretentious in his triumph. Briefly the Bull declared that it was not sufficient to sign the *Formulaire* without believing that Jansenism was a heresy—'as though it were permissible to deceive the Church by an oath, and to say what she says without thinking what she thinks'. Henceforward there was no possible means of evasion, no way of playing with the idea of 'law and fact'; there was no longer even any chance of hiding behind 'Gallican freedoms' since the king had no desire to quarrel with Rome.

It was easy for their opponents to drive the Jansenists to the wall at least those who were unskilled at the game of mental reservations, implications and misrepresentations. Among these were the nuns of Port-Royal-des-Champs The valley very quickly ceased to be fashionable. The nuns had grown old, they were less numerous than formerly for they no longer took novices. They remained firm, however, in their austere piety, very much attached to their memories of a great past, and on the whole very much out of touch with recent squabbles. Who was the enemy of Noailles who thought of using them to strike at the archbishop? The nuns of Port-Royal-des-Champs[88] were invited to sign a formal acceptance of the Bull. It was a clever stroke because everyone expected a refusal. If then the archbishop agreed to take the stern measures demanded of him he would become an object of loathing to the Jansenists, but if he refused to be co-operative he would be acknowledging that he was a Jansenist. And Bossuet was no longer alive to disentangle him! This backhanded stratagem occasioned one of the most famous and dramatic episodes in the whole ghastly business.

The nuns suspected a trap but agreed to sign, adding simply the words: 'Without prejudice to the Clementine Peace.' The Pope would have been content to accept this conditional submission; but the king's new confessor, the Jesuit Father Le Tellier, pointed out to him that these stubborn old ladies were defying his authority. Louis XIV then went a step further, he asked for a bull of suppression. For a long time no decision was reached, partly because the religious, as worthy heirs of Arnauld, appealed again and again; but also because the Pope was reluctant to be too severe. Noailles groaned; he reproached the nuns with ingratitude for refusing to listen to him and not striking out their restrictive clause. As of old Port-Royal-des-Champs became the symbol of Jansenist resistance to every form of authority. The 25th September 1709 marked exactly one hundred years since the 'Day of the Grating'—when the young Mother Angélique closed the door of her monastery against her father.

On Tuesday, 29th October, d'Argenson, the chief of police, entered the convent with the constable of the watch and his patrol. The community was made to assemble in the chapter room and d'Argenson, courteous, frigid and formidable, read out the royal decree. To carry out the provisions of the Bull the nuns, numbering twenty-two, were to be dispersed. Twenty-two carriages had been brought for that purpose. Each nun entered a carriage and, accompanied by an old woman, set off for the convent allocated to her—Autun, Rouen, Nantes, Amiens and so on, all over France. Each was also accompanied by a military escort on horseback, as though they were dangerous criminals. The convent remained empty, and left to be looted by the soldiers charged to guard it.

'Such a way of exercising authority', said the Duc de Chevreuse, 'can arouse only pity for these poor women and indignation against their persecutors.' And that was precisely what the Pope had feared. Supporters of Jansenism all over France, many of whom were people of sincere faith and truly Christian hearts, longed to make a pilgrimage to the beloved

valley and its deserted convent. Disconsolate women came to weep and pray in the deserted cloisters.

These demonstrations exasperated Louis XIV, and he decided to put an end to them he gave orders that Port-Royal was to be demolished. In January 1710, during a dreadful winter of national famine, distress and defeats on the battlefield, gangs of workmen proceeded to raze to the ground the convent, the houses and even the church; only Les Granges des Solitaires was spared. But the cemetery remained, and again pilgrims flocked to it. An order was given to destroy that also. Influential families were authorized to remove the remains of their own dead. Saint-Etienne-du-Mont, in Paris, where Pascal's body lay, received the remains of Racine, Saint-Médard those of Nicole, and Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas those of Saint-Cyran. As for the others, the poor and the unknown, and all who had wished to lie near the nuns and the 'Solitaries', they were disinterred and cast into paupers' graves Saint-Simon and later Sainte-Beuve, whose pens were perhaps more vindictive than veridical, have described the dreadful scene—the drunken grave-diggers at work in the cemetery, while the dogs fought over the remains that had not yet decayed.

It was not only a shocking decision but a ghastly blunder. To make martyrs of twenty-two stubborn, elderly nuns was anything but clever. 'For the stones thereof have pleased thy servants and they have pity on the earth thereof.' Henceforward the Psalmist's words would be whispered in prayer by countless souls moved by so much injustice. One day when the unhappy Noailles was bewailing the straits into which Jansenism continued to plunge him, a witty woman replied: 'What can you expect, my Lord? God is just, and the stones of Port-Royal are falling on your head.'

19 THE BULL 'UNIGENITUS'

It was an easy matter to disperse a few nuns, to raze a convent to the ground and throw bodies into a common grave,

much easier than to eradicate Jansenism from people's souls. Giving signs of its vitality existed everywhere. Jansenist convents still survived. At the convent of Gif in the Ile de France the young nuns headed by Françoise de Ségur tried to persuade the abbess to take up the standard of Port-Royal; in Toulouse the Daughters of the Holy Childhood were so openly Jansenist that they had to be suppressed. The behaviour of the Sisters of Saint Martha, recently founded by the widow of the sculptor Theodon, was more moderate: they worked as peasants, and sustained the spirit of the sect in their humble life of prayer without aspiring to any connection with the great Cistercian Order. Bishops did not conceal their Jansenist outlook, and there were innumerable sympathizers in the lower ranks of the clergy. The three parishes which had welcomed the remains of the famous men whose bodies had been disinterred remained the bastions of resistance in Paris. Jansenist schools continued to function in the capital and in several provincial towns, and eventually the link up between Gallicanism and Jansenism became complete; for those who had regarded the king's reconciliation with Rome in 1693[80] as a betrayal of Gallican freedoms made common cause with those overtaken by the agreement between Pope and king. They counted many supporters in legal circles and among the foremost politicians; even among high Church dignitaries who considered that the authority wielded by the Holy See was excessive and its demands exorbitant.

It was Father Quesnel who fired the powder magazine. The *Réflexions morales* were condemned by the Holy See in 1708 after fourteen years of discussion. Instead of abiding by the decision the one-time Oratorian replied with a cleverly written pamphlet entitled *Entretiens sur le décret de Rome*. The Gallicans who were members of the King's Council, Chancellor Pontchartrain, Torcy, Foreign Affairs Secretary, and d'Aguesseau, Procurator General, opposed France's acceptance of brief on the grounds that the ... out of the ..., as stated in the document, to the In... emboldened by this Quesnel ...

his *Réflexions*, very much enlarged and rendered all the more discreditable by the fact that the work was prefaced by Bossuet's famous *Justification*, which had obviously not been written for this enlarged version. The 'Eagle of Meaux' had died in 1704, and could have no say in the matter!

The result was a violent outburst against the Jansenists and their supporters. Fénelon forewarned his friends, and Father Le Tellier brought the whole weight of his influence to bear. A certain student of the Archbishop of Cambrai named Chalmet persuaded Champflour, Bishop of La Rochelle, and Valderies de Lescure, Bishop of Luçon, to sign a directive that had been prepared for them, under which they associated themselves with the papal condemnation and described those who had approved the pernicious work as 'abettors of heresy'. But to make quite sure that there should be no doubt as to the identity of the person alluded to, young seminarists from Saint-Sulpice were sent to post up the pamphlet on the very walls of the archbishop's palace! At the same time Fénelon denounced Percin de Montgaillard, the elderly Bishop of Saint-Pons and a well-known Jansenist, in a pastoral letter. Rome congratulated the authors of the directive and condemned the unhappy Percin.

Cardinal de Noailles grasped the purport of this salvo perfectly well. Tired and old, less capable than ever of governing the largest diocese in France, his reaction to the attack was extraordinarily clumsy. He was, as Fénelon somewhat ironically remarked, 'exceedingly scrupulous where honour was concerned, and very particular about his reputation'. He became cross and obstinate. 'He made the great mistake', wrote Saint-Simon, 'of imitating the dog that bites the stone instead of the hand that threw it.' The first thing he did was to dismiss from Saint-Sulpice the nephews of the authors of the directive, this resulted in complaints to the king and to Rome, backed by several bishops and Mme de Maintenon. Next, recognizing that he had made a tactical error, he openly attacked the Society of Jesus, which he accused of being the instigator of the whole affair, he deprived its priests of the

authority to preach within his diocese and to hear confessions, and publicly deprecated their complacent attitude towards 'the superstitions and idolatries of China'.[40] He even went so far as to write a letter to Mme de Maintenon, asking her to persuade the king to dismiss Father Le Tellier.

The reaction was swift. Father Le Tellier, Cardinal de Rohan (who had succeeded Bossuet to the See of Meaux) and Cardinal de Bissy, taking the advice of Fénelon, who was supported by his staunch friends Chevreuse and Beauvilliers, suggested to the king that the Pope be asked to pronounce a formal condemnation of Quesnel's book, on the king's promise to compel all the bishops to abide by the decision. It was just as bitter a defeat for the Gallicans as for the Jansenists. Clement XI knew that he was doing them a great honour by issuing a Bull against the *Réflexions morales*, but he was careful not to throw away such an opportunity which the king offered him to exercise his authority. A committee was set up to examine the work once more; the extraordinary thing was that only one of its members was well acquainted with French. Several months had elapsed before the Pope, pressed by the king, promulgated, on 8th September 1713, the Bull *Unigenitus*, which began: 'When the Only Begotten Son of God, who became man . . .' The Bull made history. The condemnation of Quesnel's work and, in a wider sense, Jansenism itself, was categorical. Quesnel was described as 'a ravening wolf, a false prophet, a teacher of lies, a knave, a hypocrite and a poisoner of souls'. It contained nine lines of similar adjectives describing the ex-Oratorian, and there were some who thought he did not deserve either the distinction or the humiliation. From a doctrinal point of view the Bull merely confirmed and emphasized previous condemnations. Among the hundred and one propositions condemned, Rome did, however, slip in a few which were not Jansenist but Gallican; and they were taken word for word from Richer.

It now remained to fulfil the second part of the programme: to enforce acceptance of the papal ordinance throughout every diocese in France. Would the bishops agree?

Fénelon immediately made himself the 'guardian angel' of the Bull. He wrote a memorandum on the way in which it should be dealt with, and the Assembly of the Clergy gave its verdict accordingly. Subsequently a hundred and seventeen bishops accepted the Bull 'purely and simply'. About fifteen, however, qualified their acceptance. Eight openly rejected it, declaring that they intended to appeal to the Pope for further details. The Bull *Unigenitus* thus divided the French clergy into two camps, those who opposed it being backed absolutely by the whole Gallican party. Threatened with a command under the king's seal the Parlement decided to register the Bull, and the Sorbonne was induced to submit when it saw seven or eight doctors shut out. Events appeared to be moving towards a schism. Cardinal de Noailles's own brother, who succeeded him at Châlons, wrote. 'If the Pope is in error in straying from the traditions of his See, it is he who is parting company with the Church.'

As for Noailles, at first the blow took him by surprise and left him dumbfounded. For a moment he spoke of accepting the Bull, and suggested that the Pope be asked to *forbid* Quesnel's book, not to *condemn* it! Subsequently he endeavoured to draw closer to Versailles. The people of Paris called him 'Our back-sliding Eminence', and they sang:

> *'Et Noailles jusqu'au bout*
> *Sera semblable au pendule*
> *Qui vient, revient et recule . . .'*[41]

Suddenly the pendulum stood still. In a magniloquent, but not entirely lucid, pastoral letter he forbade his priests under pain of suspension to recognize the Bull because, he said, the papal decision was irregular as to procedure and offensive to French bishops At the same time, however, he condemned Quesnel's book.

The king was furious and intervened. Would there be no end to this Jansenist hydra, these conspirators and republicans? Books containing noxious ideas, such as the widely read *Hexaples*, which claimed to demonstrate the complete ortho-

doxy of Quesnel's theories, continued to appear. The king's attention was drawn to the unrest among the lower ranks of the clergy. D'Aguesseau openly declared that the Bull, having been registered under pressure, certainly did not possess the force of law in France. The old king, more jealous than ever of his authority, brought the weight of his fury down upon the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris. He was denied access to the Assembly of the Clergy, forbidden to go to Rome to plead his case, and was treated 'almost like a heretic'. There was even talk of 'decardinalizing' him! Amelot, the councillor of state in Rome, lent his support to the idea, and it was suggested to the Pope that a national council be assembled to depose the archbishop. To this Clement XI replied with a touch of defiance that he did not mind if he and his Bull were 'thrown as fodder to the bears'

Father Le Tellier then advised Louis XIV to get Parlement to register a straightforward declaration that they adhered to the Bull and that it should be signed by all the bishops. Whereupon the king summoned the president, the procurator and the advocates general; but he was unable to overcome their resistance. The rumour went around Paris that when d'Aguesseau was leaving for Versailles his wife said to him: 'Go Forget your wife and children when in the presence of the king Throw away everything–but not your honour.' It was considered that a *lit de justice* should be convened to compel the 'Parlementaires' to agree, but the aged king was sick and lacking in strength. Meanwhile, however, the police arrested about two thousand Jansenists and their associates, and interrogated about ten thousand more. Fénelon remained calm, relishing his revenge Before he died he dealt some well-directed blows against the hostile sect with his *Instructions en forme de dialogues*. The crisis appeared to have reached its climax. The pope yielded, and agreed to assemble a council, but thoughtful men wondered what good he hoped to achieve. Then, on 1st September 1715, the Great King died.

20 HOPES AND DISAPPOINTMENTS OF THE JANSENIST PARTY

The reign of the little Louis XV began with the Regency. It also saw the rise of 'that eighteenth-century type of Jansenism' of which Sainte-Beuve said: 'Not all the gold in the world nor all the promises of heaven could move it.' Indeed, it was a type of Jansenism that became more and more pernicious, drifting further and further away from the ideals of the early Port-Royalists It took the shape of a 'party' pure and simple, not in the seventeenth-century meaning of the word, but in the political sense of the present day. The famous words of Péguy—'Everything has its origin in the mystical and ends in the political'—were never more pertinent than in the present instance.

The 'Jansenist Party' would therefore assert itself under the direction and management of high ecclesiastical Gallicans, gentlemen of the Robe and politicians hostile to Rome who, as we have seen, were supporters of the sect As was natural, the mass of militant Jansenists hardly counted, they were honest people who could no more understand Gallican theories than they could the arguments relative to grace However, a sort of 'Catholic Presbyterianism' was seen to develop and make its influence felt, deriving its inspiration both from Richer and Jansenius's concepts of the priesthood; and demanding that the lower ranks of the clergy be granted privileges equivalent to those exercised by the wealthy incumbents. This was the first sign of that antagonism which became so painfully evident during the Revolution More disturbing still was the fact that certain elements, who made an absolute mockery of grace of any kind, whether 'efficacious' or 'sufficient', also joined the 'Party' Such were the free-thinkers, sceptics, men inimical to religion Their numbers grew, for they saw in the diverse episodes of the long Jansenist dispute an easy method of attacking the Throne and the Altar. This species of support given to the descendants of Saint-Cyran,

Pascal and Arnauld by such unworthy allies was just retribution for their sectarian outlook and rejection of authority. Cardinal de Forbin-Janson had said of Cardinal de Noailles: 'One day he will be the leader of a party without intending or knowing it.' And that is precisely what happened.

When the body of the Great King had been laid in the church of Saint-Denis to the almost unanimous relief of the whole of France, weary of that long reign of seventy-two years, the Jansenists made merry. It did not seem, however, that the austere ideal of Port-Royal was destined to turn to account the succeeding period, which Voltaire described as 'the pleasant period of the Regency, when Folly jingled its bells and skipped light-footed throughout France, and people did anything and everything except penance'. But it was only necessary for Jansenism to stand as an opposition party against the ideas of the late reign for it to gain the sympathy of the new groups, and especially of the Regent, Philippe d'Orléans. The fact that this vice-monger showed goodwill towards the spiritual descendants of Mother Angélique should have been sufficient to open their eyes. But the party was too overjoyed at seeing their new master overhaul all the orders issued under the late king's seal, set free the imprisoned Jansenists and withdraw the Journal of Benefices from Father Le Tellier, whom the Regent sent to La Flèche. Bishops forbade the Jesuits to preach and hear confessions in their dioceses, and Cardinal de Noailles was made president of the Council of Conscience. The courtiers, previously so devout, loudly applauded these measures—Tartuffe was being transformed into an unscrupulous Turcaret, but claimed kinship with Quesnel!

Resistance to the Bull immediately stiffened. It was not popular with Catholics generally, for they were unable to understand why propositions that had every appearance of being orthodox had been condemned. The Sorbonne announced that it had accepted the Bull purely under duress, and the faculties of Rheims and Nantes followed suit. Twenty-five bishops took advantage of the new political situation to announce that they 'had accepted the Bull only con-

ditionally'. Once again Cardinal de Noailles shifted his position; he stated that on the whole the papal text appeared to be acceptable subject to a few modifications. His clergy begged him to keep quiet, and a deputation from the Sorbonne asked him not to yield. By the end of 1716 the Parlements of six cities including Paris had revoked their former acceptance.

Before long all this fuss began to annoy the Regent. He had more serious troubles on his hands; the most important was his attempt, with the aid of the brilliant Scotsman John Law, to avoid financial bankruptcy He had also to guard against the intrigues of the wily Spanish minister Alberoni. His one desire was to be left in peace and free from all politico-religious troubles. These were legitimate aims, in which he was assisted by his personal secretary and former tutor Guillaume Dubois (1657–1723), who was popularly known as 'The Abbé' although he was not a priest Furthermore, Dubois was not the contemptible, intriguing, hypocritical monster portrayed by the famous Saint-Simon, whose ducal pride was hurt at seeing 'this commoner . . . from the dregs of the people rise to power', and succeeding 'by sheer force of Greek and Latin'. This 'thin, weasel-faced little man with the intellectual air' was above all clear-sighted and ambitious, his purpose was to become first minister and cardinal, and he required a springboard from which to attain his ambition.

It was the affair of the 'Jansenist Appeals' that offered him his opportunity. Four bishops–Soanen of Sénez, Colbert of Montpellier, de la Broux of Mirepoix and de Langle of Boulogne–appealed to the Council against the Bull Their appeal was supported by the Sorbonne and twelve other bishops, of whom Noailles was one. As a matter of fact these 'appellants', as they were called, represented a very small proportion of the Church in France; not more than sixteen bishops out of thirty-three, and three thousand priests out of a hundred thousand. Languet de Gergy, Bishop of Soissons, the most spirited defender of the Bull, was quite right when

he declared in his ardent epistles that they were but a weak minority. They constituted, however, a turbulent minority, backed by the entire Jansenist party. The Regent charged Cardinal de Rohan to negotiate with the agitators; but nothing came of it.[42] The Jansenists' resistance provoked Clement XI beyond measure. He wished to 'decardinalize' Noailles, an action which the Regent opposed through sheer Gallican pride. The 'appellants' were condemned by a Holy Office decree and subsequently by the Bull *Pastoralis Officii*; they were even excommunicated. In the meantime Noailles, carried away by his determination to resist, appealed against the new Bull as he had done against the *Unigenitus*. Schism was openly discussed; a Gallican Church would be established independent of Rome, and the Archbishop of Paris would be its head. The situation was pregnant with possibilities.

At that moment Dubois acted, and with supreme skill. He let it be known in Rome that he was in a position to bring the two hostile factions together. On his advice the Regent intimidated the diehards by having Jansenist writings publicly burned and insisting that the Sorbonne expunge from its records an offensive resolution regarding papal infallibility. He persuaded Noailles to preside with Cardinals de Rohan and de Bissy over a committee of bishops to prepare a vaguely worded form of acceptance of the Bull satisfactory to everyone: and the king signed an edict to the effect that no one should publish any attack on the Bull—all of which soothed the feelings of its over-enthusiastic defender, M. Languet. Thus in 1720 a settlement was reached known as the *Accommodement*. After much hesitation Noailles agreed to sign it. As for Dubois, he reaped the reward of his zeal: he was given the revenue of the See of Cambrai, and received Holy Orders a week later; Cardinal de Rohan consecrated him bishop, and a year later the Pope made him cardinal. In the meantime he had become Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was nominated to the King's Council, and eventually became first minister. The shrewd Dubois had succeeded.[43]

21. 'NO MIRACLES, BY THE KING'S COMMAND'

In actual fact the *Accommodement* served no useful purpose. A rumour was current that Cardinal de Noailles had prepared two versions of his directive: the first, expressed in compliant terms, was sent to the Pope; the second one contained mental reservations, and was dispatched secretly to his most reliable supporters. As a result the whole party felt strengthened in its resistance. Yet 1720 marked the final turning-point in the history of Jansenism. Quesnel died at Amsterdam on 2nd December 1719 after having stated in his will, which contained some fine sentiments, that he had 'never intended to say, write or think anything contrary to the beliefs and teachings of the Holy Catholic Church'. With him ended the third season, as it were, in the Jansenist story—a troubled and declining autumn. Saint-Cyran had heralded in the mild spring, which was followed by the sizzling summer of the Great Arnauld; what now remained was a dreary winter, laden with darkness and heavy storms. Jansenism was entering upon its agony, becoming more and more political, a prey to internal squabbles and secessions, buffeted even by a wave of madness.

During the entire pontificate of Innocent XIII (1721–24) chaotic negotiations were undertaken, but without result. The new Pope, Benedict XIII, a Dominican of the Thomist school, was determined to have done with the matter. A council held in Rome declared the Bull *Unigenitus* to be an article of faith. Noailles's attempts to formulate a compromise doctrine in four articles were repudiated. Colbert, Bishop of Montpellier, invoked the Clementine Peace in order to bolster up the Jansenist position, and the government, with the agreement of Rome, appropriated his benefice. The Soanen affair created an even greater disturbance. Soanen was bishop of the unimportant diocese of Sénez in Haute-Provence. He was a pious priest, but fiery and obstinate In 1726 he published a pastoral letter in which he retracted his

submission to the *Accommodement*, praised the 'appellant' bishops as 'the sole defenders of truth', and without beating about the bush pressed for open revolt and schism. The Government instructed Archbishop de Tencin, of Embrun, to assemble a provincial council to try the refractory bishop. De Tencin was not a happy choice, for he was far from worthy of the task. Furthermore, the interference of the civil authorities could only irritate the bishops, who by no means approved of Soanen. Thirty-one bishops supported him, and he himself appealed again and again, basing his case on legal quibbles Finally the little Bishop of Sénez was suspended by the Council. He took refuge in the monastery of Chaise-Dieu, where he died in 1740 at ninety-three years of age, without having made the vaguest gesture of submission. The Jansenists described the council as 'a band of brigands', and fifty Parisian advocates signed a legal document declaring its decision null and void.

There followed a violent outburst of Jansenism in Paris and in various other parts of France, and Soanen was treated as a martyr. Anybody who at all criticized authority was susceptible to the influence of Quesnel, whether they were parish priests, magistrates, intellectuals, middle class or lower class Cardinal de Noailles assumed the leadership of this Jansenist revival. But suddenly he changed his mind again; feeling the approach of death and influenced by his niece, the Marquise de Gramont, and Fleury, the shrewd first minister, he decided to submit and become reconciled with Rome. This he did in precise terms in July 1728. He withdrew all the directives he had issued, condemned Quesnel and the *Réflexions morales*, and affirmed his acceptance of the Bull. Shortly afterwards he died, and the people of Paris sang an ironical epitaph:

> *'Ci-gît, Louis Cahin-Caha*
> *Qui dévotement "appela"*
> *De oui, de non s'entortilla*
> *Perdit la tête et s'en alla.'*[44]

Only the poor mourned him, for throughout his life he had relieved their misery, so much so that he sold his silver to provide them with bread. He may have had a small mind, but he had a large heart.

It naturally followed that immediately after his death letters of his were published in which he repudiated his submission. But they carried no weight; episcopal Jansenism died more or less with him. His successor, Mgr de Vintimille, accepted the Bull without reservation. Most of the theologians in Paris did likewise, and only three refractory bishops remained The king then decreed (in 1730) that all ecclesiastics who did not sign a straightforward acceptance would be deprived of their livings, which could be appropriated by law. The threat was quite sufficient to cool the ardour of the bulk of the party.

Not that Jansenism was by any means crushed. Its resistance hardened in three domains· amongst the lower clergy, where 'Presbyterian' ideas developed side by side with the growing antagonism of the higher clergy; among parish priests and vicars with their *portion congrue*, who to some extent supported Jansenism on the assumption that by opposing the bishops as ecclesiastics of dubious morals and minions of the temporal power they were defending true Christianity, the Church's freedom and their own rights. Thirdly, resistance was strong in parliamentary circles, which seized every opportunity to stand up to authority When parliamentarians attacked the Bull in defence of the rights of the Gallican Church, their activities acquired a political significance, in 1730 the Paris Parlement went so far as to publish a memorandum to the effect that 'the ecclesiastical power acquired the exercise of its jurisdiction through the secular power', and also that 'the authority of the Crown is not above that of Parlements, for the latter are the Senate and the Supreme Tribunal of the nation'—and that was a revolutionary declaration. Obviously such statements immensely gratified the 'progressive intellectuals' who were sceptical and anti-religion in outlook, and were already being

described as 'the philosophers'. Ever since 1727 a weekly news-sheet called *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques* had been secretly produced by two brothers from Vendée who were priests—Etemare and François de la Roche. It was printed in the deep forest of Puisaye, in the country around Vitry-le-François, and distributed in the back streets of Paris. It vigorously denounced the scandals, great and small, of the clergy; railed against the Jesuits and lampooned the obsequious bishops of the court and the cardinal ministers.[45] All this was, of course, very far removed from the ideals of the 'Solitaries' of Port-Royal. In any case those of the party who desired to remain loyal to the traditional spirit had other misfortunes to put up with. First there was the alleged 'Letter to Monsieur Nicole', followed by a treatise by a certain Petitpied on the subject of 'fear and trust'. The movement's spiritual leaders fought desperately among themselves, and there was no Arnauld to patch up their quarrels. The situation became ever more confused.

And then some very surprising things happened. For three or four years the Jansenists had been saying that God had revealed Himself, and had come to their help as He had done in the past with the Miracle of the Holy Thorn. Indeed there was an abundance of miracles. In the parish of Sainte-Marguerite a paralytic was cured by a parish priest, a well-known 'appellant'; in the diocese of Rheims two other unaccountable cures took place at the tomb of a 'Quesnelian' canon. But all that was nothing compared with the miracles that occurred in the cemetery of Saint-Médard at the tomb of a pious young deacon named François de Paris. He was the son of a magistrate and, out of humility, became a weaver. On his deathbed he cursed the Bull and all who had accepted it. He accounted for no less than eight miracles in a year: a case of dropsy, a woman suffering from cancer, three paralytics, two cases of blindness and an eighth not clearly defined! The extraordinary nature of these cures was officially recognized in due course.

But once the story began to spread the cemetery of Saint-

Médard was besieged by a swarm of sick, blind, the bandy-legged, the deaf and dumb and, which was more distressing, people who were mad or half mad. They all declared that as soon as they stepped inside the cemetery they were seized by an irresistible power which shook them, threw them to the ground and dragged them to the tomb, upon which they rolled; and all this took place amidst cries and shouting. 'One could hear groaning, shouting, whistling, prophesying and caterwauling,' a chronicler relates. 'But above all they dance; they dance until they are breathless.' Men were to be seen swallowing pebbles, or slashing their flesh with glass; women 'twisting and throwing themselves about' in a frenzy, and adopting attitudes that could hardly be described as decent. The 'convulsionaries of Saint-Médard' were the talk of Paris.

A report of these 'strange goings-on' came to the ears of the king and his former tutor, the Cardinal de Fleury (1653–1743), whom he had just made his first minister—and a very autocratic minister he was This baby-faced man of sixty-three with the calm, blue eyes was discreet and peaceable. His greatest wish was that his ministry might be uneventful. He reacted immediately to the Saint-Médard affair by ordering the police to close the cemetery. Paris composed a couplet which became very popular:

De par le Roi, défense à Dieu
de faire miracle en ce lieu.[40]

But the 'convulsionaries' continued their activities. They assembled in private houses, in the countryside, in cellars and attics. 'Sisters' began to prophesy; others went off to heal the blind by using a paste made of spittle and dust. There were 'Figuristes' who proclaimed the revival of the Church by means of their antics and through the conversion of the Jews. There were also the 'Secouristes' who gave first aid to the sick, especially to the neurotic, whom they treated by beating them soundly with a stick. There were even 'Augustinists' who confused Molinos with Quesnel, and authorized illicit relations between men and women on the

grounds that by yielding to divine impulse they could commit no sin.

All these foolish pranks discredited Jansenism, which the 'convulsionaries' claimed to profess. It is true that the early 'miracles' were received with enthusiasm, even by such bishops as Soanen and Colbert, and the Jansenist Abbé d'Asfeld went so far as to compare them with the miracles of Christ! But the madness and hysteria that were seen at Saint-Médard created consternation. Certain doctors belonging to the sect endeavoured to explain the convulsions, but the majority wisely repudiated them; this resulted in bickering Fleury took advantage of the occasion to exercise a little authority; the insolent memorandum issued by the Paris Parlement was annulled by the King's Council, and, when the advocates replied by walking out, Fleury had ten of them arrested, a move which induced the remainder to adopt a more reasonable attitude.

22. JANSENISM OUTSIDE FRANCE

Opportunities for the expansion and permanent development of Jansenism did not exist outside France to the extent which had enabled various forms of Protestantism to become firmly rooted beyond the countries of their origin. The austerity of Jansenism did, of course, reach out beyond France; in some countries it even exercised a profound influence, but it evinced nothing like the conquering force of Lutheranism and Calvinism. Nowhere in Europe did the struggle to impose Jansenist ideas assume the vigour it had displayed in the country of Saint-Cyran and Arnauld, not even in Belgium where Saint-Cyran had lived

Yet the movement did at first seem to have taken deep root in Belgium during the Port-Royal days, when Alphonse de Bergh, Archbishop of Mechlin, authorized the preaching of the new ideas. Though his successor, William de Precipiano, gave all his support to the Jesuits—so much so that Innocent XII had to urge moderation—large bands of the-

ologians hostile to the Society and to Molinosism rallied around Ruth d'Ans, and conducted a campaign that was more or less Jansenist in scope. The Collège du Faucon, which exercised a great influence on the University of Louvain, openly set up as a Jansenist centre. But when Philippe V, grandson of Louis XIV, succeeded Charles V, a violent reaction set in. Philippe was not satisfied with arresting Quesnel, he exiled Ruth d'Ans and his friends, and so they remained until the Spanish régime, overwhelmed by the combined armies of Protestant England and Holland, eventually collapsed. Canon Van Espen of Louvain then took over the leadership of the movement, and published a series of pamphlets violently Erastian and anti-Roman. Ruth d'Ans returned, and many of the bishops rejected the Bull *Unigenitus*; but it was a mere flash in the pan, for they received very little support from the bulk of the clergy. When the Austrian administrators arrived they hastened to publish the Bull, and the regent, Marie-Elizabeth, together with Philippe d'Alsace (1716–50), Archbishop of Mechlin, began a systematic war against Jansenism, so that it disappeared leaving scarcely any trace. Van Espen went to Holland and remained there until his death.

Jansenism therefore made its greatest stride forward in the Low Countries to the north, secure from Spanish and Austrian interference. There it was that the Great Arnauld had sought refuge, and that Quesnel had fled to escape the episcopal prisons of Mechlin. Several of the vicars apostolic charged by Rome to supervise the small band of Catholics, including the heroic Rovenius,[47] living amidst a Calvinist majority, had shown great sympathy with the theories of Port-Royal. One of these, a certain Peter Kodde, went even further: having refused to sign the *Formulaire* in 1699 he was declared suspended by Rome, but continued to govern his church. Thus the way to schism was opened, and it had been reached by the time the Bull *Unigenitus* was published. A group of 'appellants', acting independently, revived the Cathedral Chapter of Utrecht without informing Rome,

and, in 1732, elected Cornelius Steenhoven archbishop. Varlet, a French priest from the foreign missions, having recently been consecrated Coadjutor Bishop of Ispahan, agreed to consecrate the new archbishop; he had been assured that the French bishops, among them Soanen, approved their action. This was schism indeed. A Jansenist Church was thus established in Utrecht, flouting condemnation by Rome, but in very good odour with the Calvinist authorities, who had cause to be elated over this dissension among Catholics. Varlet retired to Holland, and on the death of Steenhoven he was available to consecrate his successor. In a very short time the suffragan dioceses of Haarlem and Deventer were linked to the See of Utrecht.

Yet this schismatic church meant very little. Its position was ambiguous, for while it professed to be anti-Jansenist and condemned the five propositions, it rejected *Unigenitus*. It proclaimed emphatically that it had not separated from Rome, but that Rome had become separated from the true Church! Despite the contribution made by French emigrants the schismatic church had at the most fifteen thousand adherents. Furthermore, they were far from agreeing among themselves. The arrival in Utrecht of the 'convulsionary' Pierre Le Clerc and the violence of his teaching contributed to create confusion in their ranks. One of his books dealt with the theme that Rome had become worse than pagan. In 1763 the Synod of Utrecht split the sect in twain, and one section gradually returned to the bosom of the Roman Church. At the beginning of the French Revolution the schism of Utrecht numbered scarcely eight or nine thousand adherents, thirty of whom were priests. It has managed to survive until the present day, but its importance has dwindled.

Elsewhere Jansenist penetration was moderate because it lacked support. The minds of men no longer enthused over the metaphysics of grace or the morality of Port-Royal; they were concerned rather with the virulent anti-papism with which Jansenism seemed to have become identified. In the

Austrian states Maria-Theresa, followed by Joseph II, endeavoured to keep the Church under control,[48] and gave their support to all anti-Roman elements; the empress's confessor and doctors were members of the Church of Utrecht. But really sincere Jansenists were very rare; the Austrian temperament did not readily lend itself to excessive austerity. In Germany, where the works of Nicole and Quesnel were translated, together with Racine's *Histoire de Port-Royal*, interest did not extend beyond the limits of curiosity, combined with a little ridiculing of Rome. In Portugal a small Jansenist nucleus gathered around the Oratorian Father Pereira, and provided the famous minister Pombal with arguments in his struggle against the Jesuits and the Holy See. In Savoy and Piedmont, where 'convulsionaries' and a few followers of Quesnel had taken refuge, Jansenism merely took the form of a type of anti-papism; the same thing occurred in Venice, where Jansenist canonists urged His Most Serene Highness to demand, from the popes, privileges modelled upon those which were the pride of the Gallican Church.

In all this dissension politics rather than the spiritual life of the soul were the issue. There were exceptions, however: in Hungary, for example, where the pious Francis II Rakoczy led a life comparable with that of the 'Solitaries'; and in Italy, where the sect gained many adherents because the stern morality of Port-Royal, freed from condemned doctrinal errors, savoured of the spirituality of the great reformers of the early part of the century. They included Mgr Bottari, the librarian at the Vatican, the famous scholar Muratori, who was rector of the seminary at Pistoia, and even the secretary of the Congregation of Propaganda But as far as all these well-intentioned 'Romans' were concerned there was definitely no question of encouraging a sectarian movement, although their leniency unconsciously brought about a similar result. The Abbé Grégoire wrote that 'Italy was perhaps the one country in which Port-Royal contained the greatest number of genuine admirers'. Port-Royal itself most

certainly: but not the political movement that Jansenism had become.

23. THE END OF THE STRUGGLE: THE 'BILLETS DE CONFESSION'

France was to witness the passage of a few more incidents before the Jansenist controversy ceased to be of any further interest. They occurred in an atmosphere very different from that with which men like Saint-Cyran, Arnauld and Quesnel had to contend.

It was literally a pre-revolutionary atmosphere. The questions at issue concerned the distribution of the sacraments, the recognition and condemnation of devotions. Something very different altogether was at stake. Henceforward convinced Jansenists, the 'appellant' type, became fewer and fewer; hardly any of them really believed that the Bull *Unigenitus* threatened the doctrine and morals of Catholicism, or that the Bull represented an attempt by Rome to 'domesticate' the Church in France. But there emerged an increasing number of wily and intriguing persons, bent on taking advantage for purposes anything but spiritual of the extraordinary passion the public continued to show in such questions.

Faced with the ever-increasing failure of authority and a rapidly deteriorating financial and social situation, the Parlements of the main cities, without any mandate whatsoever (for their members were not elected as in England, but functioned rather as courts of justice), took it upon themselves to stand up to king and government. In doing so they gratified public opinion because they appeared to be safeguarding national privileges. The La Chalotais affair illustrated the limit to which the overbearing insolence of the magistrates could lead them in the pursuit of their ambitions.[40] Jansenism's full collusion with parliamentary circles was transparent: a glaring instance of this lay in the refusal of the Paris Parlement in 1738 to [illegible] the Bull of canonization of St Vincent de Paul c[illegible]ds that the document dealt [illegible]

with Jansenism! By associating itself with every incident created by the sect, and from the contents of its 1730 memorandum, the magistracy made abundantly clear that it aimed at nothing less than complete control of Church and State and the imposition of its will on the régime itself.

But the parish priests who rebelled against their bishops, and declared that 'the humblest priest possessed full power and jurisdiction', that he held direct from Christ his spiritual authority, that the bishops had no right either to empower priests to hear confessions or to withhold that licence—all these priests were indeed real revolutionaries. whether they recognized the fact or not These 'Presbyterian' ideas were developed by a parish priest named Nicolas Travers, who managed to exercise a great deal of influence despite the fact that he spent his life either in prison or in hiding. All these activities constituted a definite attempt to aid the 'appellant' priests and secure for the Jansenists authority to administer the sacraments. But this wave of independence went to many people's heads: these so-called 'presbyterians' bore such hatred towards the Bull *Unigenitus* and the episcopate which had accepted its provisions that they were prepared to envisage a Church independent of Rome, no longer hierarchic but democratic, Gallican and equalitarian. This dream did materialize later on, and became known as the Civil Constitution of the Clergy.

No event brings to light more clearly the collusion between these various forces than the circumstances surrounding the 'Billets de Confession'. In itself it was a trivial matter affecting ecclesiastical discipline, but wantonly exaggerated and over-coloured by the Parlements, with the object of asserting their rights and embarrassing the Government. In 1746 Christophe de Beaumont became Archbishop of Paris. He was a pious, charitable and upright man, but lacked tact and skill in the handling of difficult situations. He was known to be aggressively anti-Jansenist, on several occasions he had belauded the Bull, and from the moment of his consecration as archbishop he became the butt of the Jansenist party.

Everything he said and did was systematically distorted, and slanderous rumours were spread abroad regarding his relations with a nun whom he had placed in charge of the Paris hospital Hôtel Dieu Even his charity was criticized.

The archbishop discovered that Paris was full of priests who were not empowered to administer the sacraments though they continued to hear confessions and give absolutions which were invalid, and sometimes even sacrilegious. He therefore directed his parish priests to require from the dying who wished to receive Extreme Unction a Billet de Confession, signed by a priest approved by the diocese, in default of which burial in sacred ground would be refused. This administrative measure was a severe blow to the Jansenists, for no priest was 'approved' who had not declared his acceptance of the provisions of *Unigenitus*. It was, therefore, not long before incidents occurred. Father Bouettin, parish priest of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont, began by refusing the last sacraments to Father Coffin, former rector of the university, and then to an aged priest named Lemerre, both of whom had refused to produce the precious Billet de Confession. Every Quesnelian priest in France rose up against Archbishop Beaumont. The Paris Parlement, to whom families appealed, three times instructed Bouettin to administer the sacraments—in other words, to disobey his archbishop. As he persisted in his refusal his living was seized The king annulled the verdict, but Parlement replied by issuing a viciously worded decree forbidding parish priests to demand Billets de Confession or to attack Jansenism from the pulpit under pain of being prosecuted as disturbers of the peace! A few months later they proceeded even further, and labelled the archbishop an 'abettor of schism'.

Extremely annoyed by these quarrels, Louis XV forbade by letters patent that anyone should be prosecuted for refusing to administer the sacraments; whereupon Parlement sent the king such an insolently worded protest that he dispatched his musketeers to the magistracy with an order under his private seal exiling its members to the provinces. A few

months later, assuming that the storm had blown over, he allowed them to return, and published a *Déclaration* (1754) in which he imposed silence on both camps. At the same time he advised Beaumont to be a little more moderate.[50] But it was useless. When an elderly Jansenist woman refused to produce a Billet de Confession the archbishop instructed her parish priest to remain firm, this resulted in further proceedings and another verdict This time, however, the archbishop was exiled for infringing the 'law of silence' imposed by the king's *Déclaration*, and his pastoral letter was burned by the public executioner.

The controversy became increasingly violent. Encouraged by their victory the magistracy and their supporters let loose their wrath. A pamphlet by Voltaire on the subject of the 'precious Billets which the dead took with them to hell' was disseminated throughout France. In the towns of various provinces, in Amiens and Troyes, for instance, pastoral letters were forbidden, and if published were burned by the Parlements, in some cases the revenue of the bishops was seized by officers of the law. Neither the court nor the Government did anything to put matters right. One bishop was very near the truth when he said: 'We have been abandoned to the rough treatment of Parlements'. At the same time in the lower ranks of the clergy refractory priests formed teams to move by night, taking the sacraments to those at the point of death who were known to be hostile to the principle of the Billets

Indeed many bishops thought Christophe de Beaumont was carrying matters too far, and that it was quite unnecessary to be more Roman than Rome herself; the Bull contained no reference to Billets de Confession, why then should the archbishop demand them? While the Assembly of the Clergy vigorously and unanimously opposed lay interference in religious matters, they were divided on the fundamental question, and asked the Pope to decide the issue. Benedict XIV replied with the brief *Ex omnibus* (1756), which decided in favour of the moderates. Only those who were notoriously insubordinate, and had expressly stated their

opposition to *Unigenitus*, were to be refused the sacraments. The matter of the Billets de Confession was not even mentioned.

Thus ended an episode which derived its importance solely from the fact that, much to the amusement of the gallery, it had brought into relief the conflict between the Church and the Parlements. There were other less boisterous disputes, during which the intractable Mgr de Beaumont went into exile no less than three times. Other sources of trouble between the archbishop and the unfriendly Parliamentarians were his censure of a community of Jansenist nuns and his publication of a pastoral letter without stating the name of the printer and quoting the authority for publication. More unpleasant, though in a sense rather amusing, was the incident which occurred in 1765, when the ageing archbishop proposed to the Assembly of the Clergy that the feast of the Sacred Heart, already recognized in many dioceses, be extended to the whole of France. There followed an outburst of protests against the 'visions' of Margaret Mary Alacoque (whom her enemies referred to as *Marie à la coque!*) and against those who had a devotion to the Sacred Heart. A number of melodramatic demonstrations took place. For instance, on the day on which the archbishop went to his cathedral to celebrate the new feast he found that all the vestments required for the service had disappeared. No doubt some Jansenist sacristan had made away with them.

But interest in the whole business was on the wane. The number of Jansenist leaders was diminished following the publication of royal decrees, and the party's importance grew ever less. It existed in one or two dioceses, where a few 'appellants' took advantage of an occasional indulgent attitude towards them which was more or less deliberate, and in Paris, where the really zealous militant Jansenists lived in hiding. The climate of the age was growing ever less favourable to religious controversy on a grand scale. Jansenist morality had long ceased to have anything in common with the easy-going morals of the period. Lack of restraint in matters

of sex and an unbridled taste for speculative thought could scarcely be expected to accord with Jansenism's stern precepts. Rousseau, despite Mgr de Beaumont, who had condemned his *Émile*, wrote of the benevolence of nature, life and human activities; all of which absolutely ran counter to Jansenist theories of grace and the miserable state of man. In the midst of general indifference[51] Jansenism was beginning to sink into the sands of time. But before disappearing altogether it witnessed its supreme victory when its parliamentary supporters imposed judicial interdiction on the Society of Jesus, whose crime had been its constant and fearless opposition to Jansenism. In 1773 Pope Clement XIV was weak enough to yield to those governments which demanded the Society's dissolution.[52]

During the worst moments of the trouble over the Billets de Confession Voltaire wrote to his friend d'Argental. 'Jesuits and Jansenists continue to tear each other to shreds, we must fire on them while they are biting each other.' And a little later he wrote to Helvetius: 'Would it not be fair and reasonable to suggest that by strangling the last Jesuit with the intestines of the last Jansenist the whole matter would have been brought to a satisfactory conclusion?' These flashes of wit, accompanied no doubt by a Voltairian burst of laughter, point clearly to the moral in the story, and show the harm done to the cause of Christ in the long run by this interminable Jansenist quarrel.

24. THE AFTERMATH OF JANSENISM

By the eve of the French Revolution Jansenism had had its day, both as a great spiritual movement and as a political party. What remained of it after the crisis was insignificant. In Holland the small schismatic church of Utrecht has remained until our time,[53] but growing ever smaller, although its vehement hostility to the principle of Papal Infallibility led it in 1872 to absorb some old Catholic elements equally hostile to the newly defined dogma. Its present tendency

towards allowing the marriage of priests draws it closer to Protestantism pure and simple. In other countries there remained nothing but tiny cells of Jansenism secretly linked together and feeding a common relief fund called 'La Boîte à Perrette',[54] into which the living gathered the legacies of the dead. Even to-day, lost amidst the countless sects and small churches that abound in Paris there exists a 'Jansenist' Church, canonically dependent upon the Bishop of Utrecht; its centre is near Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas, formerly one of the three strongholds of Jansenism in the capital. Religious Orders directly descended from Port-Royal have survived to the present day; the Sisters of St Martha, although condemned by Mgr Affre, continued to a limited extent It was not until 1918 that the white head-dress of those pious women, who by then had had the wisdom to submit to their bishop, ceased to be seen in the village of Magny, near Chartreuse, where they had conducted a welfare centre.[55] The 'Frères Tabourin' was founded in 1709 by Charles Tabourin to carry on the teaching work of Port-Royal. After a short period of modest success, especially in the Saint-Antoine district of Paris, their schools—more or less contemporary with those of St Jean-Baptiste de la Salle and his spiritual sons—foundered in 1887 through financial difficulties.

All that meant very little. Much more important were the scars left by Jansenism upon the Christian conscience, the halo that still envelops the great figures of Jansenism and the continued interest that exists in the vast issues they raised. A shoal of books has been written on Port-Royal; scholars continue to confront each other supported by copious documents, almost as in the days of the *Formulaire* and the Bull *Unigenitus*. A veritable cult has grown up around the illustrious memory of the nuns and the Solitaries, the flame of which is kept alive by the 'Friends of Port-Royal'.[56] The success in 1838 of Sainte-Beuve's six volumes and the recent play by Montherlant are equally significant of that attitude of mind which continues to present problems. The French have a weak spot for those who stand out against established

authority; they are easily moved to pity the persecuted and the vanquished, and they have a sneaking dislike for excessive solemnity and an admiration for those really worthy of admiration, strong characters, men deserving of a better cause. A blend of all these sentiments lies at the root of that lingering veneration of Jansenism, or more precisely of Port-Royal; for its eighteenth-century successors are very much less famous and less admired—as though one could praise the source and scorn the river that flows from it!

Jansenism undoubtedly introduced new elements into Christian experience, incessantly varied down through the centuries, giving a new resonance to the eternal message. Literature and art themselves testify to this. It may not be quite true that Pascal and Racine owe everything to Port-Royal, as certain materialist historians[57] try to prove by parading these two writers as the product of the social-religious cellule of the valley of the Chevreuse; but their genius would never have developed in the way that it did had they not been nourished on the ideas of Saint-Cyran and the 'Gentlemen of Port-Royal'. And there is no doubt whatever that the pathetic contrast of grief and supernatural light portrayed in the features created by the brush of Philippe de Champaigne is just as much the fruit of the mournful doctrine of the *Augustinus* as of the stern morality which he practised as a Jansenist.

It would be unjust to ignore the role played by Jansenism in the rebuilding of Catholicism, especially in France and Italy The raising of moral standards during the seventeenth century, the stricter—even ascetic—tendency in the practice of religion, owes something, as we have seen, to the influence of those men and women of Port-Royal who offered such splendid examples But only to a certain extent, for after all the Port-Royalist movement was not entirely divorced from all those institutions which stirred the Christian conscience during the great century—the Oratory, Saint-Lazare, Saint-Sulpice Their methods were different, but they laboured towards the same end without drifting into rebellion. It may

be justly claimed that Jansenism, through its books and its schools, succeeded in penetrating the masses with a certain spiritual gravity, a respect for holy things which may be discerned in Catholicism today. The practice of standing during the reading of the Gospel, though it existed in the Middle Ages, was not always adhered to in the early part of the seventeenth century; but the Jansenists enforced it in their parishes. Similarly they revived the custom of rising during the saying of the *Credo*. An effort made by the Jansenists to induce the faithful to participate more actively in the liturgy has left its mark; the most noticeable instance is the reading of the Gospel in the vernacular.[58]

Though such positive contributions[59] were considerable they could not compensate for the losses and the injury which Jansenism inflicted on Catholicism and the Church. In the strictly spiritual sphere its responsibility appears overwhelming. It is quite certain that the work of such saints as Jean-Baptiste de la Salle and Louis-Marie Grignion de Montfort was frequently thwarted by sectarians whose conception of holiness was based on their own standards and, in their opinion, it did not exist outside their own ranks. More serious still, it was the Jansenists and their followers, led by Nicole, who began, and continued with dreadful zeal, the action taken against the mystics; we cannot attribute to the Quietist trouble alone those proceedings which eventually stifled the mighty impulse sweeping so many souls towards God at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Even the solid doctrine of St Teresa and St John of the Cross did not emerge altogether unscathed from their attacks. Mystical union appeared to many Catholics as a state so rare as to be inaccessible; it was not, in any case, considered either meritorious or tending towards spiritual perfection. Beneath the anti-mysticism of Nicole and his friends lurked a religion of commandments and precepts and the threat of formalism.

Such a tendency was all the more disturbing because, at the same time, Jansenism was conducing to a decline in the practice of religion; that is to say, it was robbing souls of the

support of the sacraments. By virtue of the scruples that arose, as we have seen, from an absolutely false notion of what the sacraments really are, confessors, in the manner of Saint-Cyran, turned the faithful from confession and Communion Innumerable documents testify to this attitude of mind and its consequences. At the beginning of the eighteenth century a priest of the diocese of Auxerre was recorded as being proud of the fact that he made some of his parishioners wait up to ten years before giving them absolution and Holy Communion. In Dauphiné a parish priest proudly told his bishop 'I am sure that there has not been a single sacrilegious Communion in my parish during the last year, because no one has been to Communion.' It was only at the end of the eighteenth century that, under the influence of St Alphonsus of Liguori, another path was distinctly mapped out, as far removed from laxism as it was from austerity; a path to which Pius X in 1905 would direct the whole Church. But, in the meantime, how many souls must have lost their way to the confessional and to the Sacred Banquet!

Just as serious were the consequences of Jansenism's approach to discipline. Their refusal to submit unhesitatingly to authority, their cavilling, their arguments and, in short, their revolt, dealt the Church some heavy blows. If we can also establish that Jansenius's theories constituted a definite heresy in relation to grace, then it cannot be denied that the behaviour of the sect resulted in a heresy against the Church itself, as it questioned the very authority of the Sovereign Pontiff and his legitimate claims. In addition the 'Presbyterianism' which Jansenism encouraged in the eighteenth century undermined the authority of the bishops and the very structure of religious society, the 'subordination of the lower ranks of the clergy', to use the words of the regent in 1717, was at stake, and with it the entire structure of the Church. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy would show where this democratization would lead. And there is scarcely any need to add that the frenzied attacks conducted since Pascal's time against the Society of Jesus by every Jansenist

capable of wielding a stinging pen finally discredited for a while an institution which might have had its faults, but nevertheless remained one of the strongest supports of the Church. The Jansenists threw down the pillars of the Temple.

But that was not all. In very many other ways the Jansenist crisis did great harm to the cause of Christianity. It will be remembered that, when the Port-Royalist movement began, it appeared as the vanguard of the saintly company set on their way by the Council of Trent; many excellent Catholics made no distinction whatever between St Francis de Sales, Bérulle, Condren and Saint-Cyran. All were equally animated by the spirit of reform. When Jansenism became a doctrinal deviation, and then a revolt against the Church, and when the Church was forced to condemn it, an atmosphere of uncertainty hovered over the Tridentine reform and all that proceeded from it. A long time elapsed—even to our own day—before Catholics really appreciated the work of the Council and ceased to mistake the counterfeit for the true message of holiness.

Furthermore, the obvious consequence of these repeated dissensions among themselves in which Catholics engaged so readily occasioned a loss of prestige affecting Catholicism generally. In the Quietist controversy contemporary Catholics were well aware of the worsening effect and the dangers underlying such conflicts. 'The free-thinkers owe their success to them', wrote Bossuet 'They seized the opportunity to turn piety into hypocrisy and to deride everything pertaining to the Church ' As for the 'convulsions' and other antics that took place in the Saint-Médard cemetery, there is scarcely any need to mention that they shocked sincere men, who were puzzled by this kind of Christianity.

To say that Jansenism was the harbinger of incredulity may be a harsh accusation, but it is in a large measure true. If the Church in the eighteenth century was, as Sainte-Beuve has said, 'so powerless, so defenceless, that it was straightway riddled by the arrows of Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes*', not all the blame can be laid upon Port-Royal and its heirs,

but they must bear a great deal of the responsibility; and not merely on account of their censures and their insubordination. The excessive austerity which they wished to impose alienated from Christianity the average man, the general run of Christians who felt ill at ease under a religious system in which, as Father Bonal said, 'Nothing was virtuous unless it was heroic, nothing Christian unless miraculous and nothing tolerable unless inimitable'. Yet it was the most illustrious of the Port-Royalists who has told us that by trying to be angels we run the risk of becoming animals. By dint of repeating that man's state of sin is so frightful that nothing moves him but his passions, we are liable to force him to conclude that it is much simpler to deliver himself up to his instinct for pleasure. By continually 'denying school and Church a say in theological matters, and leaving decisions on doctrine to the laymen', are we not serving the cause of rationalism? Surely by stressing the transcendence of God, rendering Him more and more inaccessible, we are in danger of discouraging man from ever attaining Him; or, as a writer with Marxist tendencies[60] has observed, man lays himself open to replacing, as happens today, the transcendence of a superhuman God by that of mankind, 'both of which are at once outside the individual and within him'. If the enemies of Port-Royal, by exaggerating the role of nature and reason, encouraged Rousseau and the philosophers, it is beyond question that Jansenism immensely contributed to the crisis of minds and consciences which proceeded side by side with the shattering episodes of that interminable controversy. 'Through the open crack', to quote Sainte-Beuve once more, 'Saint-Évremond, La Fontaine and Bayle entered'—and many others besides.

'Pascal paved the way for Voltaire', wrote Lanson, and the reflection is not as paradoxical as it sounds. But it was certainly not the purpose of those profound believers of Port-Royal, or of Pascal, the hero of the 'night of fire'.

NOTES

CHAPTER V

CHRISTIANS OF THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

1. Roland Mousnier. *Les XVI^e et XVII^e siècles (Histoire générale des civilisations)*, Paris, 1954, p. 276 et seq.
2. Speech to the World Congress of the Lay Apostolate, 14th October 1951.
3. Under a Statute of Villers-Cotteret (1539) the parish priest registered baptisms and burials and, after the Statute of Blois (1579), marriages He was therefore responsible for the complete record of a person's civil status until the time of the Revolution, with the single exception that from 1667 (under the Code Louis) he had to maintain the parish registers in duplicate the original was sent to the bailiff's office and the copy retained at the presbytery.
4. G Le Bras. *Introduction à l'histoire de la pratique religieuse*, Paris, 1942 (especially i. 95 and ii. 24).
5. The position is examined by Father Flament in the *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* for July–December 1955, p. 235.
6. The following figures from a statistical survey made at the Jesuit college in Molsheim, Alsace, are significant in 1650 there were 7,000 Communions a year; in 1670, 21,640, and in 1706, 23,000.
7. See Volume I, Chapter II, p 147.
8. Ibid, p 134
9. Ibid, p. 165.
10. See *The Church in the Eighteenth Century*, Chapter V.
11. See Chapter VI, p. 189 et seq.
12. Ibid, especially p 151 et seq
13. See Volume I, Chapter II, p 144.
14. Ibid, p. 102.
15. Opposition to the devotion to the Sacred Heart continued well beyond the seventeenth century. In 1720, at the time of the great plague in Marseilles, the Bishop of Belzunce consecrated

his diocese to the Sacred Heart and introduced the feast. Despite his earnest and repeated entreaties Rome, suspicious of anything resembling inordinate mysticism, refused to approve the devotion. It was not until 1765 that Clement XIII approved it at the request of the Polish bishops. Maria Leczinska, a Pole who became Queen of France, was then able to spread the devotion throughout the country. But even then it was permitted, not prescribed. Moreover, when an attempt was made to establish the devotion in Paris, incidents were provoked by Jansenists who, at their 'synod' held at Pistoie in 1786, described the devotion as idolatrous. It was not until 1856 that Pius IX extended the Feast of the Sacred Heart to the Universal Church. The process of beatification of Margaret Mary was opened in 1714, interrupted, and then reopened in 1819 She was not beatified until 1864, and not canonized until 1920. It remained to our epoch to interpret the true meaning of this devotion. This Pius XII expressed in glowing terms in his Encyclical *Haurietis Aquas* on the occasion of the centenary of the feast in 1956.

16. Excommunication was not a mere matter of form 'In order to receive the Last Sacraments actors had to read a statement renouncing their profession Some had not the courage to do so. The case of Mlle Champmeslé is touching She refused to repudiate her past, and declared that it was noble to remain true to one's art to the last. "If I get well I wish to return to the theatre." It was only a few hours before her death, and probably because there was no hope of recovery, that she yielded.'—A M. Carré's *L'Église s'est-elle réconciliée avec le théâtre?* (Paris, 1956).

17. In ten years (1659–69) Bossuet preached four 'Stations' at the court, that is, no more than Dom Cosme and a third of those preached by Massillon His funeral oration for Henrietta of England was given in a little chapel at Chaillot, while François Favre preached his at the church of Saint-Denis, and Father Senault the most important one at Notre Dame. Mme de Sévigné wrote that she found the sermon preached by Bossuet for the Profession of Louise de la Vallière 'less divine' than that preached by Fromentières at the clothing of the king's former favourite

18. This was the pose depicted in Jouvenel's engraving, hence the

legend that Bourdaloue learned his subject by heart and spoke with his eyes closed.

19. See Volume I, Chapter I, p. 44.
20. He also had a liking for material wealth, money and good living He owned real estate in Paris, and charged his tenants a high rent. But the famous story, spread by Voltaire, that he was secretly married to Mlle de Mauléon has been absolutely refuted, especially by Amable Floquet in his *Études sur la vie de Bossuet*, and by Canon Urbain. The truth is that out of sympathy for the lady Bossuet stood surety for her in connection with a loan she raised when buying some shares. The contract was seen by one Jean-Baptiste Denis, a priest who had been driven from Meaux for misconduct, and he confused it—perhaps deliberately—with a marriage contract. (See the details of this affair by A. Augustin-Thierry in *Ecclesia*, Paris, December 1952.)
21. See Volume I, Chapter IV, pp. 286–287.
22 Descartes, Malebranche and Richard Simon are dealt with in *The Church in the Eighteenth Century*, Chapter I.
23. See *The Church in the Eighteenth Century*, Chapter II.
24. See Chapter VI, p. 214.
25. Ibid , p. 227 et seq.
26. Joseph de Maistre's criticism is none the less excessively severe: 'He flattered the powerful, while the wretchedness of the people never drew a protest from him.'
27. 'I picture you', he wrote to Bossuet, 'in your skull-cap, holding M du Pin as an eagle holds a frail sparrow-hawk in its talons.'
28. See Chapter VI, p. 220
29. François Varillon, whose book is quoted in the bibliographical notes
30. See Chapter VI, p. 216.
31. See Volume I, Chapter IV, p. 312, note 4.
32. Intellectual posterity has been prejudicial to him, as frequently happens in the case of great thinkers. Rousseau's great admiration for Fénelon, of whom he said, 'If he were to return here below I should become his slave', has rendered him suspect.
33 See Volume I, Chapter II, p. 90
34. See Volume I, Chapter IV, p 259
35. The 'Journal of Benefices' was the object of lively rivalry on account of the financial rewards involved. The incumbents of

'dirty' bishoprics were envious of those who were well endowed. We have the evidence of François Hébert, priest of the 'royal parish' at Versailles from 1686 to 1704 No one in France had a better opportunity to observe intrigues, and he wrote of them in his *Mémoires*: 'It is astonishing to see bishops indulging in the kind of luxury one would condemn in a woman. Their retinue and their furniture were affected by the depravity of the age. . . . It was this habit of luxury which prompted some of them to secure transfer to sees that offered a greater income than the one they began with; and these changes were continually taking place because everyone desired a better table, a larger number of servants, more of life's amenities . . . A number of bishops rarely resided within their dioceses because, in their eagerness to become richer, they would do anything to achieve their aim. Not only were they subservient to the king, but they would woo courtiers whom they knew to be in favour, and worse still they paid attention to ladies whose morals they should have reproved had they been inclined to do their duty.'

36. It must be emphasized, however, that it was not yet obligatory in all dioceses for students to pass through a seminary. Where it was the rule, the period of training varied from four to eighteen months. The seminarists paid for their board and lodging, but those who were too poor were allowed to do their own cooking, and they could go into the town to buy provisions. The quality of the buildings varied a great deal. In some cases they were set up in disused inns. Ordinary laymen were generally permitted to join the classes with the seminarists, and in any case to attend divine service with them. One of the rules of the seminary at Coutances provided for a student to take over the duty of 'driving away dogs and keeping beggars quiet' during Mass.
37. See *The Church in the Eighteenth Century*, Chapter II.
38. Jean Gautier has furnished an excellent portrait of M. Tronson in *Ces Messieurs de Saint-Sulpice*.
39. E. Préclin.
40. See *The Church in the Eighteenth Century*, Chapter IV.
41. The French word *trappe* also means 'trap' and 'trap-door', and is therefore liable to create the idea of a trap into which a man may fall and disappear for ever.

42. See *The Church in the Eighteenth Century*, Chapter I.
43. In connection with the movement towards reform we must mention a Benedictine community set up by Peter Mekhitar, an Armenian who came over to Catholicism from the Greek Orthodox Church. He was driven from Greece by the Turks, and he and his brethren settled in Venice. The monastery of Saint Lazarus near Venice still houses the 'Mekhitarists'. The community also has a branch in Vienna and another in Trieste.
44. See Volume I, Chapter I, p 51 et seq.
45. See Volume I, Chapter II, p 126 et seq.
46. Ibid, p. 118.
47. In 1835 they were reorganized as a separate congregation by Father Deshayes, who called them Brothers of St Gabriel.
48. See Volume I, Chapter I, p. 53.
49. See Volume I, Chapter II, p 130.
50. Ibid, p. 131.
51. Ibid, p. 133.
52. Ibid, pp. 133–134.
53 To be distinguished from the modern Society of the Holy Child Jesus—Tr.
54. The Sisters of Ernemont were initiated by the Company of the Blessed Sacrament and the efforts of St John Eudes, the Baron d'Ernemont was acquainted with them both The sisters also fell under the influence of Saint-Sulpice, for one of their early superiors was the Sulpician M Blain, they were typical of the numerous congregations of nuns who at that period gave their lives to teaching and hospital work, and embodied the Catholic spirit of the day. But they were unique in two respects. they were the first religious congregation of women to be formed by Colbert (1690), then Archbishop of Rouen, into a congregation taking simple vows, unlike the Daughters of Charity, whom St Vincent de Paul made into a Society; in addition, under the spiritual influence of St John Eudes they were the first to be called 'Sisters of the Sacred Heart'. On the eve of the Revolution they had more than a hundred schools and nearly a hundred hospitals. (Cf Canon Levé's *Qu'est-ce qu'une religieuse d'Ernemont?* Rouen, 1932.)
55. See Volume I, Chapter II, p. 130.
56. This was also the opinion of Comenius in Moravia, but he did not succeed in getting it approved.

57. See Volume I, Chapter III, p 219
58. See *The Church in the Eighteenth Century*, Chapter III.
59. See *The Catholic Reformation*, Vol. I, p 315.
60 Ibid, Vol. II, p. 138.
61. See *The Church in the Eighteenth Century*, Chapter II
62. See Volume I, Chapter III, p. 205.
63. See Volume I, Chapter IV, p 265.
64. See Volume I, Chapter III, p 215
65. At St Gothard, see p. 110
66. Concerning events in Protestant England and the consequent crises see *The Church in the Eighteenth Century*, Chapter III.
67. The extent to which public feeling had been roused is suggested by a curious incident which took place on 22nd December 1688. On learning that the king had left the palace Londoners became panic-stricken. It was rumoured that the Irish were attacking London There was a beating of drums, a great bustle of muskets and pikes, the streets were illuminated and barricades were set up. A state of uncertainty reigned, but nothing happened after all. Someone shouted, 'No popery!' and the crowd flung itself upon all Catholic embassies. The incident became known as the 'Irish Night'.
68 See Volume I, Chapter III, p 218.
69. See *The Church in the Eighteenth Century*, Chapter IV.
70. See Volume I, Chapter III, p 207.
71. See Chapter VI, p. 256.
72. See Volume I, Chapter III, p 212.
73. See Volume I, Chapter II, p 170 et seq
74. See Volume I, Chapter IV, p. 279
75 It was in connection with his efforts that the expression *Pax Clementina* came into use, he arranged a temporary settlement of the Jansenist affair (see Chapter VI, p. 181).
76 See Chapter VI, p. 194
77 See Volume I, Chapter IV, p 288.
78 See *The Church in the Eighteenth Century*, Chapter II.
79. See Volume I, Chapter III, section 12 'Towards Absolutism in Europe'.
80. See Volume I, Chapter IV, p 296.
81. See *The Church in the Eighteenth Century*, Chapter I
82. See Volume I, Chapter II, p 158 et seq
83. This does not include abbeys, a good number of abbots, whether commendatory or regular, put in hand repairs or re-

building in the classical style of architecture, which resulted in edifices of great dignity. A splendid example is the Premonstratensian abbey of Mondaye, in Normandy, which has often been imitated.

84 See V L. Tapié's excellent book, *Baroque et classicisme*, mentioned in the bibliographical notes.

85. See Volume I, Chapter II, p. 164.

86 It must not be forgotten that great missioners—among them St Grignion de Montfort—composed canticles that are not lacking in quality.

87. See *The Church in the Eighteenth Century*, Chapter I.

CHAPTER VI

THE DOCTRINAL CRISES OF JANSENISM AND QUIETISM

1. See Volume I, Chapter III, p 237.

2 He was a Spanish-Jesuit who died in 1600, and must not be confused with another Spanish priest, Molinos, whose theses gave rise to the Quietist crisis Molina's system is known by the name Molinism, but Molinosism is used with reference to the theories of Molinos.

3. He gave up the priesthood and became a pastor, but later returned to the bosom of the Church.

4 Or Le Maître Both spellings are to be found in documents of the period.

5 See *The Church in the Dark Ages*, Vol I, p 50.

6 Two chapters of *The Protestant Reformation* are devoted to the study of Luther and Calvin

7. See Volume I, Chapter II, p 133.

8 Before forming an opinion on this subject one might well read Maurice Blondel's excellent article, 'Le Jansénisme et l'antijansénisme de Pascal', in the April–June 1923 issue of *La Revue de Metaphysique et de Morale*

9 This expresses the very opposite thought to that contained in the condemned 'fifth proposition'.

10 From the splendid chapter entitled 'Religion de Pascal', in vol. iv of Bremond's work. See also *En prière avec Pascal* (Paris 1923).

11. He spent eighteen months there. It can still be seen at No. 54 Rue Monsieur-le-Prince Cf J Mesnard, 'Les Demeures de Pascal à Paris', in *Mémoires des serv. hist de Paris*, t iv.

12. Father Antonio Escobar y Mendoza (1589–1669) was a holy religious who, in 1630, published a *Manual of Cases of Conscience* The tenor of the work appeared so strict that he was denounced to the Inquisition. No one was more surprised than he when he learned that a French writer was accusing him of laxism!

13. Blondel has spoken very harshly of Pascal's role: 'He makes a laughing-stock of theology, he exposes the sacred delicacy of the religious life to the mockery of a foolish and corrupt world.' Bremond expresses his judgment concisely. 'Louis de Montalte is guilty, Pascal is innocent'

14. This attitude lends some support to the assertions of those who claim that Pascal underwent a 'third conversion', this time from Jansenism to complete Catholicism. Facts and documents have been quoted to substantiate this theory, among them the evidence of the parish priest of Sainte-Étienne-du-Mont, Father Beurrier, who was Pascal's confessor in 1661, six weeks before Pascal's death Father Beurrier's *Mémoires* provide further evidence. But the strongest proof lies in the change that took place towards the end of Pascal's life. He devoted himself to acts of charity and to the service of the poor, and abandoned all forms of controversy. On the other hand Pascal never signed the episcopal document formally rejecting Jansenism, he simply declared himself a Catholic subject absolutely to the Church. His family did not seem to think he had retracted. Controversy over this aspect of his life appears to be endless Such historians as A. Gazier, Father Petitot, as well as Faguet and Hallays, have argued *against* a 'third conversion', while others, among them E Jovy, Henri Bremond, Father Yves de la Brière and T. de Wyzewa, have argued *for*.

15 Moreover, having no very firm convictions, he made an offer to the Queen to 'exterminate the Jansenists if she were to join forces with him'; that is to say, give him Mazarin's post as first minister.

16. Henri de Montherlant's play *Port-Royal* stresses the convent's spirit of resistance.

17. Father de Montcheuil, a Jesuit, chaplain to the 'Maquis' at Vercours in 1944; he was shot at Grenoble on 8th August of that year.

18. 'Since the women have shown the courage of bishops,' said Jacqueline Pascal, 'the bishops must have the courage of women.'
19 This type of Cross was not, however, of Jansenist origin The museum at Cluny possesses one dating from the sixteenth century. The Crucifix was sculpted in bone, and the position of the arms was generally as described above, but it became very popular among the Jansenists. Pascal's Christ, however, which may be seen in Lafuma's large edition of the *Pensées*, as well as on page 174 of Albert Béguin's little book, *Pascal, par lui-même,* certainly shows the arms stretched above the head.
20. *The Imitation of Christ*, Book III, chapter xxxix.
21. See *Cathedral and Crusade*, Vol II, pp. 278, 323.
22. Ibid, pp. 323, 371.
23. See Volume I, Chapter II, p 88.
24. He is not to be confused with the Jesuit Luis de Molina whose sophistry has been much discussed. See *The Catholic Reformation*, pp. 59, 149, and note 2 on p 269 of the present work.
25. Henri Bremond has clearly stated 'It is certain that Mme Guyon was never proved guilty of the slightest fault with Father Lacombe or with anyone else.'
26 Jean Lacroix, in the 23rd February 1957 issue of *Le Monde*, with reference to J. M. Goré's book, *La notion d'indifférence chez Fénelon et ses sources*
27. See Volume I, Chapter IV, p. 251 and note 4, p 312.
28. To some extent they may also have been political, as R. Schmittlein has indicated in his book, *L'aspect politique du différend Bossuet-Fénelon* (Baden-Baden, 1954). It was in the field of Quietism that Bossuet's support of the king's authority and Fénelon's attitude of reserve in regard to absolutism clashed.
29. Bremond remarked shrewdly, and perhaps with a touch of irony, that the best pages Bossuet ever wrote were precisely those in which, without knowing it, he upheld the theories of pure love (*Bossuet, maître d'oraison*).
30. The echo of this campaign against Fénelon is reflected even in La Bruyère's *Dialogues*; in the seventh dialogue, for instance —the account of the 'Spiritual Nuptials'—where a young peni-

tent is shocked, and exclaims, 'Fancy talking like that, Father, before a girl of my age!' Fléchier also refuted Quietism in verse.

31. See the article entitled 'Fénelon', in the *Dictionnaire des Lettres, XVII[e] siècle.*

32 This suggests that politics were not entirely excluded from the French Academy.

33. 'In the conflict in which two French bishops appear to be seeking the truth, one says that hope is being destroyed, while the other maintains that it is charity. No one seems to know that faith itself is being destroyed'

34. See Volume I, Chapter IV, p. 278 et seq.

35. Probabilism went a long way towards moral laxity. For instance, it argued that 'when opposite parties in a lawsuit are supported by opinions that are equally probable, the judge may quite rightly accept money to persuade him to give a verdict in favour of one party rather than the other'.

36. It did not appear until 1710, six years after Bossuet's death; it preceded a new edition, more Jansenist than ever, of the *Réflexions morales.* In consequence Quesnel was accused of yet another breach of faith.

37. His hatred of the sect reached such a pitch that it bordered on the ridiculous. An army general whom the king took to task for having appointed to his general staff a Jansenist notary, replied that the officer in question was a complete atheist. 'Is that so?' replied the king 'Can you vouch for it? If it is true there is no harm done, and you can keep him.' The Duc d'Orléans almost died with laughter when relating this story to Saint-Simon!

38. Port-Royal de Paris had become little more than a convent for ladies of fashion.

39. See Volume I, Chapter IV, p. 289.

40. The distressing Rites controversy was at that time being hotly debated See *The Church in the Eighteenth Century,* Chapter II.

41. 'To the end Noailles will resemble a pendulum swinging to and fro.'

42. An amusing scene took place at the church of Saint-Léger, in Soissons, when the Vicar-General came to read Bishop Languet de Gergy's pastoral letter condemning the 'appellants', and it gives some idea of the intense feeling prevalent at the time.

The parish priest, who was a Jansenist, first ordered the congregation to leave, and then instructed the cantors to drown the Vicar-General's voice with a loud singing of the Canticles. Finally he ordered the church bells to be rung!

43. See also Carreyre's *Le Jansénisme durant la Régence* (Louvain, 1932), where the facts are given in detail. The work also contains an account of the part played by Bishop Languet de Gergy.
44. 'Here lies Louis the Muddler who piously made his "appeal". In a maze of Yeses and Noes he lost his head and departed.'
45. *Les Nouvelles ecclésiastiques* continued to appear in France until 1794, and was for a long time published at the abbey of Hautefontaine, near Vitry-le-François. It survived until 1803 in Holland.
46. 'By royal decree God must not work any miracles on this spot.'
47. See Volume I, Chapter III, p. 208.
48. See *The Church in the Eighteenth Century*, Chapter IV.
49. La Chalotais was the parliamentary representative of Rennes. He quarrelled with the Duc d'Aiguillon, second in command to the governor of Brittany, over some new taxes which the government wished to impose The incident was the starting-point of an attempt, which unfortunately failed, by the chancellor de Maupéou to reform justice and abolish the sale of public appointments.
50. The following extract from a letter written by Mme de Pompadour to Archbishop Christophe Beaumont is interesting in that it lacks neither wisdom nor Christian sentiments: 'I should wish that some prelates, instead of regarding themselves as kings of the Church and writing pastoral letters which Parlement merely burns and the nation scorns, might be disposed to give us an example of moderation and a love of peace. What I mean is that your Billet de Confession may be an excellent thing in itself, but charity is worth much more.'
51. It should also be mentioned that Jansenism had to contend with the indomitable spiritual influence of elements that still remained Christian, and were diametrically opposed to Jansenist tendencies. Especially important was the influence of St Alphonsus of Liguori (see *The Church in the Eighteenth Century*, Chapter V).
52. See *The Church in the Eighteenth Century*, Chapter IV.

53. See Erich Kunhelt Leddin's article in the December 1954 issue of *La Table Ronde*, entitled 'Les foyers jansénistes contemporains en Hollande'.
54. We might call it in English 'the money-box'. Perrette was the name of Nicole's servant—the Jansenists always had a taste for cryptic nicknames.
55. When they were condemned, about the year 1840, another institution—the 'Sœurs de Sainte-Marie'—sprang from them. It was a perfectly orthodox organization, subject to the Church, engaged in teaching and nursing the sick. To-day it is a flourishing community which has spread beyond France, even as far as Mexico. (For further information relating to Orders descended from Jansenism, see M. Th. Le Moign-Klippfel's 'Les derniers Jansénistes', in the September 1955 issue of *Ecclesia*; S. M. d'Erceville's book, *De Port-Royal à Rome* [Paris, 1956] and, of course, Gazier's *L'Histoire générale du mouvement janséniste*, mentioned in the bibliographical notes)
56. For a long time Henry Jaudon, Counsellor of the Supreme Court of Appeal, has been their president.
57. Cf. Lucien Goldmann's *Le Dieu caché* (Paris, 1955), and, concerning that work, A Blanchet's article 'Pascal est-il le précurseur de Karl Marx?' (*Études*, March 1957).
58. 'Under the influence of Port-Royal a new tendency developed during the second half of the seventeenth century: the faithful were urged not to be content with extracts or paraphrased versions of the Scriptures, but to become acquainted with the sacred text itself.' (From the article entitled 'Écriture', by Father du Chesnay, in the *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*.)
59. We must also include the contributions made to Christian scholarship and learning in general. Le Nain de Tillemont was a master in this branch of instruction, and historical criticism owes a great debt to the Jansenist Launoy.
60 Goldman, loc. cit. Father Blanchet, reviewing *Le Maistre de Sacy et son temps*, the extremely erudite work of Geneviève Delassault, in the April 1958 issue of *Études*, remarks that in these days many people who are not by any means Christian pose as the champions of an uncompromisingly strict Jansenism.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

DATE	HISTORY OF THE CHURCH	POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY	ARTS, LITERATURE AND SCIENCE
1602	Jacqueline Arnauld becomes Abbess of Port-Royal		
1603			Foundation at Rome of the Accademia dei Lincei.
1604		France renews the 'Capitulations' with the Turks.	
1605	Leo XI (April). Paul V (1605–21).		
1608			*Introduction to the Devout Life.*
1609	'Journée du Guichet' at Port-Royal.		Death of Annibal Carrachi.
1610	Foundation of the Visitation.	Assassination of Henri IV. Louis XIII (1610–43).	St Francis de Sales's *Treatise on the Love of God.*
1611	Bérulle founds the French Oratory.		
1612		Death of Rudolf II. Mathias, Emperor of Germany (1612–19).	
1613		Acadia ravaged by English corsairs.	Aubigné's *Tragiques.*
1614	Beginning of persecution in Japan.		Franz Hals (1584–1666).
1616			First condemnation of the ideas of Galileo.
1617	Decree of Louis XIII against irreligion.		Napier invents logarithms.

DATE	HISTORY OF THE CHURCH	POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY	ARTS, LITERATURE AND SCIENCE
1618		Defenestration of Prague; beginning of the Thirty Years War.	Kepler formulates his laws.
1619		Ferdinand II emperor (1619–37).	
1620		Battle of the White Mountain. The *Mayflower* in America.	Bacon's *Novum Organum*.
1621	Gregory XV (1621–23). The Benedictions of Saint-Maur. Jansen and Saint-Cyran elaborate their great project.	Renewal of the Dutch war against Spain. Death of Philip III of Spain. Philip IV (1621–65).	
1622	Bishopric of Paris becomes a metropolitan see. Congregation of Propaganda created. The martyrs of Nagasaki.		Callot, engraver (1592–1625).
1623	Urban VIII (1623–44). Success of Fr de Nobili in India.		
1624		Richelieu (1624–42).	Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665).
1625	Foundation by St Vincent de Paul of the Priests of the Mission (Lazarists). Père Joseph, the Grey Eminence, appointed Prefect of Missions in the Levant.	Henrietta, sister of Louis XIII, marries Charles I of England. Death of James I of England. Charles I (1625–49).	Death of Breughel de Velours.
1626		The Santarelli affair.	
1627	Foundation of the Collegio Urbano. Fr Pacifique de Provins in Persia.	Siege of La Rochelle (1627–28).	

DATE	HISTORY OF THE CHURCH	POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY	ARTS, LITERATURE AND SCIENCE
1628			Death of Malherbe. Harvey demonstrates the circulation of the blood. Bernini (1598–1680).
1629	Foundation of the Daughters of Charity (confirmed 1634).	Edict of Restitution in Germany. Quebec taken by English corsairs	Van Dyck (1599–1641). Velasquez (1599–1660).
1630	Foundation of the Company of the Blessed Sacrament.	Foundation of Massachusetts (New England).	Claude Gelée, 'Lorraine' (1600–82).
1631	Adrien Bourdoise founds the community of Saint-Nicolas-du-Chardonnet.		Work of Gassendi on the planets.
1632		Gustavus Adolphus killed at Lutzen. Renewal of French settlement at Quebec	Philippe de Champaigne (1602–74) Roberval invents the balance and also the cinematic.
1633			Second condemnation of Galileo.
1634		Foundation of Maryland.	
1635	Saint-Cyran spiritual director of Port-Royal.		
1636	Missions of Michel le Nobletz then of Fr Maunoir in Brittany.		The French Academy. Corneille's *Le Cid*.
1637	Bartholomew Holzhauser founds the 'Bartholomites'.	Ferdinand II emperor (1637–57).	
1638	The vow of Louis XIII. Arrest of Saint-Cyran.		

DATE	HISTORY OF THE CHURCH	POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY	ARTS, LITERATURE AND SCIENCE
1639	Marie de l'Incarnation founds the first girls' school in Canada Creation of Holy Synods in the Orthodox Church		
1640	Death of St Peter Fourier and of St Francis Régis.	Portugal, under the Braganzas, recovers independence Frederick William of Prussia, the Grand Elector (1640–88).	Jansenius's *Augustinus*. Mignard (1610–95).
1641	Death of St Jeanne de Chantal.	Revolt in Ireland.	Descartes's *Discourse on Method. Horace. Cinna*
1642	St Vincent de Paul founds the seminary of Saint-Lazare. M. Olier founds Saint-Sulpice	Death of Richelieu Rocroi.	Death of Galileo.
1643	St John Eudes founds the Eudists	Mazarin (1643–61).	Antoine Arnauld's *La Fréquente Communion. Polyeucte*
1644	Innocent X (1644–55).		
1645	Beginning of the quarrel of Chinese Rites		Death of Hugo van Groot, called Grotius (1583–1645).
1646	George Fox and the Quakers.		Le Sueur (1617–55). 'Life of St Bruno'.
1647			Murillo (1617–82)
1648	François Picquet in Syria.	Treaties of Westphalia (end of the Thirty Years War). The Fronde (1648–53).	Torricelli and Pascal weigh the atmosphere.

DATE	HISTORY OF THE CHURCH	POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY	ARTS, LITERATURE AND SCIENCE
1649	The Jansenist 'Five Propositions'.	Execution of Charles I of England Cromwell (1649–58). English repression in Ireland	Lebrun (1619–90).
1650	Spread of Jesuit 'Reductions' in Paraguay (1610–1773)		Death of Descartes
1651	Suppression of vicariate apostolic in the Netherlands.		
1652	Nikone, Patriarch of Russia.	In Sweden, Queen Christina abdicates after being converted to Catholicism In France, end of the two Frondes.	
1653	Bull *Cum occasione* condemning the 'Five Propositions'		Lenôtre (1613–1700).
1654			Hobbes's *Leviathan*.
1655	Alexander VII (1655–67). Massacre of Vaudois in the Alps.	Poland invaded.	
1656	Decree on the Chinese Rites.	In the Turkish empire, the Grand Vizir Koprili.	The *Provinciales* Beginning of the quarrel of Ancients and Moderns.
1657	Death of J.-J. Olier. The Sulpicians at Montreal.	Peace of the Pyrenees. Leopold I emperor (1657–1705).	The Bible of Le Maistre de Sacy. The *Provinciales*
1658	Appointment of vicars-apostolic in the Far East and at Quebec (Montigny-Laval).	Death of Cromwell	Claude Perrault, architect (1628–1703). Girandon, sculptor (1628–1715).
1659	Foundation of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris. The *Instructions* of Propaganda.	Treaty of the Pyrenees.	Molière's *Précieuses ridicules*.

DATE	HISTORY OF THE CHURCH	POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY	ARTS, LITERATURE AND SCIENCE
1660	Death of St Vincent de Paul and of St Louise de Marillac. Dissolution of the Company of the Blessed Sacrament.	Charles II of England	
1661		Personal rule of Louis XIV. From 1661 to 1683 Colbert minister.	
1662	Incident of the Garde Corsi. In England the Act of Uniformity.		Death of Pascal. Molière's *Ecole de femmes*. In London, foundation of the Royal Society.
1663			*Discourse on Method* placed on the Index Lully (1633–87).
1664	Reform of La Trappe by Rancé.	In China the Emperor Kang Hsi (*d.* 1722).	Molière's *Tartuffe*. Beginning of extensions at Versailles.
1665	Work of the German Pietists (Spener).		Rochefoucauld's *Maximes*. *Le Journal des Savants*.
1666	In Russia beginning of the Raskol At Lyons, Charles Démia founds the Priests of St Charles.	The Great Fire of London.	*Satires* of Boileau. *Le Misanthrope*.
1667	Clement IX (1667–69).	War of Devolution (1667–68).	Racine's *Andromaque*.
1668			*Fables* of La Fontaine.
1669	The Clementine Peace puts an end provisionally to the Jansenist quarrel.		Bossuet's funeral oration on Henrietta of England.
1670	Clement X (1670–76).		Pascal's *Pensées* Maria d'Agreda's *Mystic City of God*. Spinoza's *Treatise*.

DATE	HISTORY OF THE CHURCH	POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY	ARTS, LITERATURE AND SCIENCE
1671			Quesnel's *Réflexions morales* Bossuet's *Exposition de la foi catholique*
1672		Dutch War (1672–78).	*Les Femmes savantes.* Newton (1643–1727).
1673	The *régale* affair. Voyages of Fr Marquette. Apparitions to Margaret Mary Alacoque.	Louis XIV clashes with the Holy See	
1675			Molinos's *Spiritual Guide.* Malebranche's *Recherche de la vérité.*
1676	St Innocent XI (1676–89).	New York receives its name.	Mansart works at Versailles. Roemer calculates the speed of light. Mariotte formulates his laws on gases
1677			Death of Spinoza. Racine's *Phèdre*
1678			Richard Simon's *Histoire du Vieux Testament.*
1679	St Jean-Baptiste de la Salle opens his first school.		The Observatory of Paris.
1680			Invention of the anchor escapement in clocks.
1681	Bossuet Bishop of Meaux.	Annexation of Strasburg by Louis XIV. William Penn in Pennsylvania.	Bossuet's *Discours sur l'histoire universelle.*

DATE	HISTORY OF THE CHURCH	POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY	ARTS, LITERATURE AND SCIENCE
1682	Gallican declaration of the French episcopate.	Louis XIV takes up residence at Versailles. In Russia, Peter the Great (1682–1725).	Infinitesimal analysis revolutionizes science. Newton discovers universal gravity.
1683		Defeat of the Turks before Vienna.	
1684		Charles XII, King of Sweden (1684–1718).	Leibniz's *Meditations on Knowledge*.
1685	Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. At Rome, arrest of Molinos.	James II of England (1685–88).	
1687	Affairs of the 'franchises' at Rome. Condemnation of Molinos.		Fenelon's *Traité de l'Existence de Dieu*. Lalande, musician (1657–95).
1688	Revolt of the Camisards.	Revolution in England. William of Orange becomes William III (1688–1702). In Prussia Frederick I first king. War of the League of Augsburg (1688–97)	Bossuet's *Histoire des Variations*.
1689	Alexander VIII (1689–91).	The Palatinate ravaged by troops of Louis XIV.	*Esther*. Scarlatti (1659–1725).
1690		In Ireland, Treaty of Limerick.	Denis Papin's steam-engine.
1691	Innocent XII (1691–1700). Dispute between Mabillon and Rancé. Correspondence of Bossuet and Leibniz (1691–1702).		*Athalie*.
1692	Bull *Romanum decet* against nepotism		

DATE	HISTORY OF THE CHURCH	POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY	ARTS, LITERATURE AND SCIENCE
1693	End of the Gallican dispute Decree of Mgr Maigrot against the Chinese Rites.		
1694			Death of Antoine Arnauld, birth of Voltaire Leibniz's *New System*.
1695	Fénelon Archbishop of Cambrai.		Locke's *Reasonable Christianity*. Palace of Versailles completed
1696			Toland's *Le Christ sans mystère*.
1697	Conflict between Bossuet and Fénelon on the subject of Quietism.		Pierre Bayle's *Dictionnaire*.
1698			Couperin (1668–1733).
1699	Submission of Fénelon.	Hungary reconquered from the Turks.	Death of Racine. *Télémaque*.
1700	Clement XI (1700–21). In Russia, Peter the Great suppresses the Patriarchate.		

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

CHAPTER V CHRISTIANS OF THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

J. BARUZI *Leibniz et l'organisation religieuse de la terre*, 1907.
MGR. CAUTHEY *Marguerite Marie Alacoque*, 1915
CROUSAZ-CRETET. *Paris sous Louis XIV*, 2 vols, 1921.
H. BREMOND *L'Abbé Tempête* (Rancé), 1929
G. TRUC *Bossuet et le classicisme religieux*, 1934.
M DENIS *Art chrétien*, 1939
GILLET *L'éloquence sacrée*, 1943.
L. LE CRUM *S. Louis-Marie Grignion de Montfort*, 1946
A. M. CARRÉ *L'Église va-t-elle se reconcilier avec le théâtre?*, 1956.
F VARILLON *Fénelon et le pur amour*, 1957.
V. L TAPIÉ: *Baroque et classicisme*, 1957.

CHAPTER VI THE DOCTRINAL CRISES OF JANSENISM AND QUIETISM

L. SÉCHÉ *Les derniers jansénistes*, 1891.
CH VINCENT *Malaval*, 1893
J PASQUIER· *Qu'est-ce que le Quiétisme?*, 1910.
H BREMOND: *Apologie pour Fénelon*, 1910.
P. DUDON. *Le Quiétisme espagnol· Michel de Molinos*, 1921.
SAINTE-BEUVE *Port-Royal*, 8th edition, 1923
A. GAZIER: *L'Histoire générale du mouvement janséniste*, 1924.
J. LAPORTE *La Doctrine de Port-Royal*, 1925
G. HARDY *Le Cardinal de Fleury et le mouvement janséniste*, 1926.
J CHAIX-RUY *Pascal et Port-Royal*, 1930.
L. CARREYRE: *Le Jansénisme pendant la Régence*, 1929–32.
J ORCIBAL *Origines du Jansénisme*, 1947
J F THOMAS· *La Querelle de l'Unigenitus*, 1949
L. COGNET· *La Réforme de Port-Royal*, 1950.

ENGLISH SUPPLEMENT

H. S. LEAR· *Priestly Life in France in the Seventeenth Century*, 1873.
L. VON PASTOR and others: *History of the Popes*, 20 vols., 1929–50.
H. BELLOC· *Richelieu*, 1930
A. LUDDY. *The Real De Rancé*, 1931.
N. ABERCROMBIE· *The Origins of Jansenism*, 1936.
C BARTZ: *Louis XIV* (trans), 1937.
SIR C A. PETRIE. *Louis XIV*, 1938.
T. MAYNARD *Apostle of Charity. St Vincent de Paul*, 1940.
A. HUXLEY. *Grey Eminence*, 1941.
VOLTAIRE· *The Age of Louis XIV*, 1751 (trans. M. P. Pollack, Everyman's Library).
CARDINAL DE RETZ: *Memoirs*, 1717 (trans. P. Davall, Everyman's Library).

INDEX



Image Books

. . . MAKING THE WORLD'S FINEST CATHOLIC LITERATURE AVAILABLE TO ALL

ON THE TRUTH OF THE CATHOLIC FAITH
Summa Contra Gentiles Book II: Creation. Newly translated, with an Introduction and notes by James F. Anderson D27—95¢

ON THE TRUTH OF THE CATHOLIC FAITH
Summa Contra Gentiles Book III: Providence. Newly translated, with an Introduction and notes by Vernon J. Bourke
D28a Book III, Part 1—95¢
D28b Book III, Part 2—95¢

ON THE TRUTH OF THE CATHOLIC FAITH
Summa Contra Gentiles Book IV: Salvation. Newly translated, with an Introduction and notes. By Charles J. O'Neill D29—95¢

THE WORLD'S FIRST LOVE
By Fulton J. Sheen D30—85¢

THE SIGN OF JONAS
By Thomas Merton D31—95¢

PARENTS, CHILDREN AND THE FACTS OF LIFE
Sattler, C S S R. D32—75¢

LIGHT ON THE MOUNTAIN:
The Story of La Salette
By John S. Kennedy D33—75¢

EDMUND CAMPION
By Evelyn Waugh D34—75¢

HUMBLE POWERS
By Paul Horgan D35—75¢

SAINT THOMAS AQUINAS
By G. K. Chesterton D36—75¢

APOLOGIA PRO VITA SUA
By John Henry Cardinal Newman Introduction by Philip Hughes D37—95¢

A HANDBOOK OF THE CATHOLIC FAITH
By Dr. N. G. M. Van Doornik, Rev S. Jelsma, Rev. A. Van De Lisdonk. Ed. Rev. John Greenwood D38—$1.55

THE NEW TESTAMENT
Official Catholic edition
D39—95¢

MARIA CHAPDELAINE
By Louis Hémon D40—65¢

SAINT AMONG THE HURONS
By Francis X. Talbot, S.J.
D41—95¢

THE PATH TO ROME
By Hilaire Belloc D42—85¢

SORROW BUILT A BRIDGE
By Katherine Burton D43—85¢

THE WISE MAN FROM THE WEST
By Vincent Cronin D44—85¢

EXISTENCE AND THE EXISTENT
By Jacques Maritain D45—75¢

THE STORY OF THE TRAPP FAMILY SINGERS
By Maria Augusta Trapp
D46—95¢

THE WORLD, THE FLESH AND FATHER SMITH
By Bruce Marshall D47—75¢

THE CHRIST OF CATHOLICISM
By Dom Aelred Graham
D48—95¢

SAINT FRANCIS XAVIER
By James Brodrick, S J.
D49—95¢

SAINT FRANCIS OF ASSISI
By G. K Chesterton D50—75¢